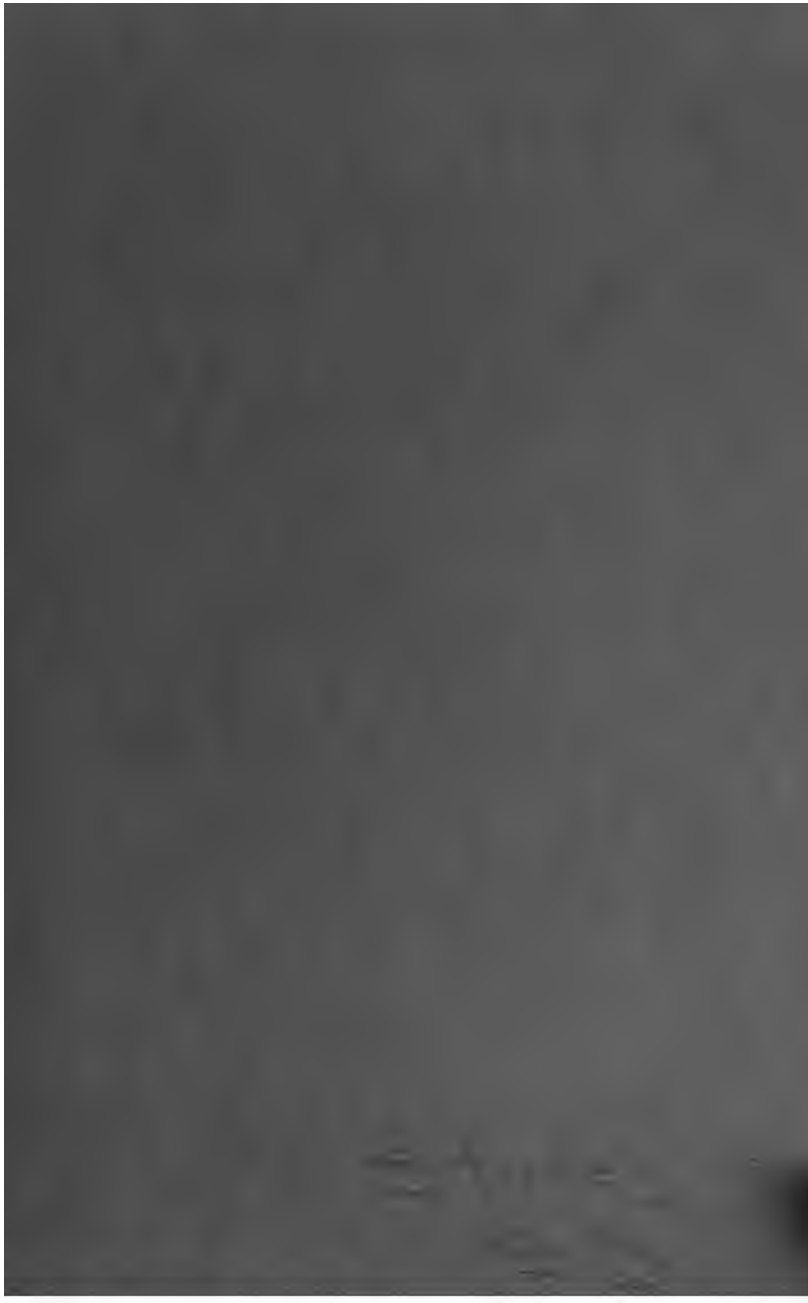
PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY



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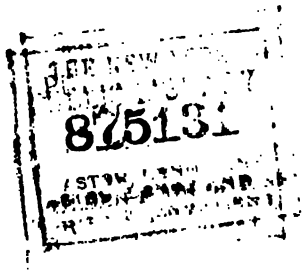
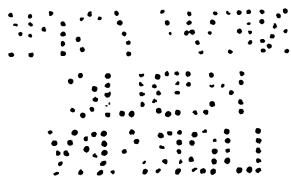
BY
MOORFIELD STOREY

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge
1920





PREFATORY NOTE

In the year 1903 certain friends of Edwin L. Godkin, desiring "to express their admiration and gratitude for his long and disinterested service to the country of his adoption by some suitable memorial, which should perpetuate his name and stimulate that spirit of independent thought and unselfish devotion to the public good which characterized his life and distinguished his career" gave to Harvard College a fund of which the income should "be used in providing for the delivery and publication of lectures upon 'The Essentials of Free Government and the Duties of the Citizen,' or upon some part of that subject, such lectures to be called 'The Godkin Lectures.'"

This volume contains the Godkin Lectures delivered in March, 1920.

CONTENTS

PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY

THE USE OF PARTIES

THE future of the United States during the next half-century sometimes presents itself to the mind as a struggle between two forces, the one beneficial, the other malign, the one striving to speed the nation on to a port of safety before this time of trial arrives, the other to retard its progress, so that the tempest may be upon it before the port is reached.

So wrote Lord Bryce ten years ago. The time of trial to which he referred is the time when all the arable land in this country will be occupied, and he continued:

The question to which one reverts in touching on the phenomena of American politics is this, Will the progress now discernible towards a wise public opinion and a higher standard of public life succeed in bringing the mass of the people up to the level of what are now the best districts in the country, before the days of pressure are at hand? Or will the existing evils prove so obstinate and European immigration so continue to depress the average of intelligence and patriotism among the voters that, when the struggle for life grows harder than it now is, the masses will yield to the temptation to abuse

their power and will seek violent, and because violent, probably vain and useless remedies for the evils which afflict them?

When these words were written the wisest man could not have foreseen what has happened since, or for a moment have imagined how much more difficult the problems of government would become even in a single decade. The great empires of the world then seemed so firmly rooted as to defy attack, but they have fallen like Babylon. The monarchs of Russia, Austria, Germany, and China are dead or in exile. The self-styled Czar of Bulgaria, the King of Bavaria, Princes, Grand Dukes, great nobles and lesser potentates innumerable are banished and only seeking to escape the public gaze in which they were wont to rejoice. Autocracy is dead for all time so far as man can see, and no one knows what is to follow. Russia is in the throes of violent and bloody revolution, and its government in the hands of men who respect neither life nor any law

save their own will. Germany is a problem, and while the great conflagration seems extinguished, the embers of war are blazing in many places, and wherever we look the prospect is clouded, and the future uncertain.

Our own country is the theatre of conflicts between various forces whose comparative strength it is difficult to estimate. New theories of government are proposed, racial prejudices are cultivated, the people are broken into various factions, industry is disturbed, and as we look back, life fifty years ago seems wonderfully simple as compared with the disorganization and confusion which prevail to-day. Never in our history were unselfishness, courage, wisdom, patience, and public spirit more needed in the conduct of our public affairs. There was never a greater opportunity for men of high ideals and generous ambitions.

The Godkin Lectures, which I am appointed to deliver this year, by the terms of the foundation are to deal with "the essen-

tials of free government and the duties of the citizen," which must as a rule be the same whatever side the citizen takes on public questions as they arise. The lecturer is to present the setting of the stage, not to determine the roles of the actors. No matter how strong may be his views on the issues of the day, this is not the time or place to express them. I shall endeavor in what I say to respect these conditions.

Every young man as he prepares for life must needs ask himself, What is my duty? How can I best serve my country and help to solve her problems? Or, to put it more simply, What part must I take in politics?

The answers must vary with the man and his circumstances, but whatever one seeks to accomplish in public service, he must be in a position to do what he thinks right. He must be relieved from the danger of being driven to lower his standards or be false to his principles by the needs of himself or his family, or by "entangling alliances," as bad

in a small way for the man as they may be in a large way for the nation. He must be his own man and stand on his own feet.

Let us take first the problem as it presents itself to the young man who does not inherit a competence, and who finds that his first duty is to earn his living. If, as he should, he marries, he adds the support of others to his burdens, and unless he proposes to live upon charity he must, as we used to say, "pull his weight in the boat." To be of any service in the world, and not be a burden upon it, he must support himself and his family. This should not, however, take all his time. There are few men who are not interested in public questions and who have not time enough to study them, and the first duty of the voter is to make up his own mind as to what the public interest requires. You may recall the verse in one of the operas, "Every child that is born alive, is either a little Liberal or else a little Conservative." One's political views are very apt to be in-

herited, imbibed in childhood from the conversation of one's parents or their friends, and these inherited notions are afterward held with extreme tenacity as a part of the family faith. Like the little superstitions which we learn in the nursery, they have deep roots. This is unfortunate, for party names change their meaning gradually, and it may well be that a party will reverse its attitude completely, as the Democratic Party, formed to maintain human freedom by that apostle of liberty, Thomas Jefferson, became in time the party which defended and sought to extend human slavery, while the Republican Party, which began as the opponent of slavery, became the party of high protection and imperialism. To-day adherence to either party may lead one into positions which cannot be defended successfully, for old political alignments were not made upon the questions of to-day. The world changes faster than men change their prejudices.

The problems of taxation were simple when a billion-dollar Congress horrified the people, but when the activities of the Government call for many billions, it needs far more wisdom, experience, and courage to distribute the burden justly, and to guard against the extravagant expenditure of money, which is easily raised from a rich country. When the United States held a population of five million people separated from Europe and Asia by seas which it took weeks to cross, when cables, wireless telegraphy, and fast steamships were unknown, the relations of the United States with foreign nations presented very different questions from those which we must deal with as a world power, raising larger armies than ever existed before to fight on European battle-fields, and extending our sway over Asiatic peoples thousands of miles from our shores.

When differences between employer and employed affected only the parties immedi-

ately concerned, we thought we could afford to disregard them, but when they threaten by stopping the operation of our railroads to arrest the business of the country, and to deprive whole regions of the food and the fuel which the people who dwell there must have in order to live, we realize that the public must act in self-defence. No existing party was formed to deal with questions like these, and every party finds its members divided when such issues are raised.

It is clearly the duty of every man, and especially of every educated man, to study the situation of the country, to master the facts and decide what must be done to meet the difficulties which confront us. Some at least of the time that is spent in games or desultory reading might be devoted to this study with far better results to the student himself as well as to the State. Among the multiplicity of issues there is probably for every man one or perhaps two which interest him especially. If so, he should throw his

strength into these and work to have them rightly dealt with, for by concentration of effort the best results are obtained, and the man who does or helps to do one thing well, deserves the gratitude of his fellows. In politics as elsewhere a jack-of-all-trades is apt to be the master of none.

But far too many of our educated and successful men sneer at politics, are content to let them be managed by "practical men," as they are called, think that they degrade themselves and waste their time by taking part in political struggles, and that they cannot afford to divert time and energy from their business. A little reflection would make these men realize that good government is an essential part of their business. The fortune heaped up by years of constant labor may be swept away in a single night by a fire which proper building laws and an efficient fire department would have prevented. Every large city in the country, New York, Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, to

name only conspicuous examples, has had this experience. There is scarcely a city to-day which does not contain districts that may at any time be the starting-place of a great conflagration. The men who suffer from these disasters have allowed the government of their cities to fall into incompetent hands. They have neglected an important part of their business.

A man may devote himself to acquiring wealth for his children, may educate them, house them luxuriously, give them every accomplishment that will fit them to adorn society, only to see them die before his eyes because the city water which they drank, polluted through the neglect of city officials, has brought disease into his very home. They may contract some contagious disorder in the theatre or the crowded store or the public conveyance, and he will learn too late that the Health Department fell into the hands of uneducated politicians, because he did not attend to his business.

The public schools, the police, the highways, all the services to the citizen which the public provides concern every citizen, not merely the poor man to whom they are vital, but the rich who will find that when their poorer neighbors suffer, sooner or later they must suffer also.

The waste of the people's money, whether due to corruption or to incompetence, means increasing taxes, which heighten the cost of living and foster public discontent with all that it implies. A change in the tariff, made perhaps in return for contributions to a campaign fund, may enrich one body of manufacturers, ruin others, and impose improper burdens on the whole community. Every business man to-day feels the load of taxation which cripples his efforts, and as a mere matter of business he is as much interested in having a proper tax law and public economy, as he is in reducing any other expense which enters into the cost of doing business.

An unwise foreign policy may embroil us in needless war, and send our nearest and dearest to die in tropical deserts or in arctic regions far from home, while a public debt and a long pension list are left to be carried by our children and grandchildren upon whom the sins of the fathers are thus visited.

In a word, government is a business in which every citizen is a partner and to which he must attend, if only as a matter of business. He can no more neglect it without suffering for his neglect than he can neglect his housekeeping, the expenses of his factory or his store, or cease to care whether his employees are honest or competent. The banker who does not see how his clerks do their work, or whether their accounts balance, faces ruin. The public treasury is the bank of us all, and under self-government the voters are the bankers. The neglect which spells disaster to the private banker, spells disaster to us just as inevitably in one case as in the other, though the public takes

longer to find it out. Says a student of public affairs:

> In my reform labors I have found that the most dangerous enemies of reform have not been the ignorant and poor, but men of wealth, of high social position and character, who had nothing personally to gain from political corruption, but who showed themselves as unfitted to exercise the right of suffrage as the lowest proletariat, by allowing their partisanship to enlist them in the support of candidates notoriously bad who happened by control of party machinery to obtain the "regular" nominations.

I have said that the citizen is apt to leave the business of the community to be run by "practical men." The result may be emphasized by an anecdote.

Some years ago two Americans, who had both been spending the summer in Europe met for the first time on the home-bound steamer. The first night out they were walking the deck together when one turned to the other and said, "You live in the city which is governed by the meanest, dirtiest, most corrupt political gang in the United

States." The other, after a moment's reflection, said, "Yes, that is so." Then, suddenly reflecting further, he went on, "But how do you know where I live?" "I don't know" was the reply.

Look where you will. In New York you will find Tammany somewhat improved perhaps since the days of Tweed, but still no supporter of honest government. Philadelphia is described as "corrupt but contented." We have our own vivid recollection of the experience through which Boston has passed. St. Louis has added its chapter of shame exposed by Folk. The Golden Gate admits the traveller to a city which has no association with any golden age. As a rule, wherever the community is too large to be governed by a town meeting or its equivalent, the story is the same. Like causes produce like results.

Our whole government is conducted on the amazing theory that no matter what a man's education or character may be, he

is fit to fill any public office. To quote Lord Bryce again,

> The fact is, that the Americans have ignored in all their legislative as in many of their administrative arrangements, the differences of capacity between man and man. They underrate the difficulties of government and overrate the capacities of the man of common sense.

If a son is to undertake the management of his father's mill, he must begin at the beginning in the process of manufacture and work his way up, until, familiar with every step, he is competent to direct the whole. In private life training is required to fit a man for any work but simple manual labor, as the plumber who mends your pipes must now hold a certificate of fitness. But when the whole public is to be served, as by the postmaster when certain and prompt delivery of mail is of the greatest importance to the community, or by the superintendent of some great public essential like the sewerage of a city, neither education, experience, nor fitness for the work is the first thing con-

sidered, and the place is turned over to some untrained person because he has rendered efficient political service to the "practical men" who have been trusted with the power of selection by their fellow-citizens. The appointee may prove efficient, but no pains are taken to insure that result. The "practical men" are indeed very "practical" and accomplish their objects with almost uniform success, but those objects are personal: — power and personal emolument, with only so much attention to the wants of the community as is necessary to prevent the popular uprising which once in so often drives bad administrators into private life.

The young man of high public spirit must recognize his duty to do his share towards securing good government for his country, his state, and his city, but the most sordid citizen if he has eyes to see must learn that as a mere matter of self-interest he must do likewise.

I remember that when I was a student

here I was taught about the resultant of forces. When an object is pushed by opposing but not diametrically opposing forces at the same time, it advances upon a line which is the resultant of them all. Each force has its weight in affecting its course, and not even the least is without some influence. So it is with voters. No man and no party can have his or its own way absolutely, but every one who chooses to exert his influence by voice or vote affects the national policy somewhat. The harder his push the greater the effect, but if he does not push at all the resultant is deflected against him; the course of public affairs is more or less affected by his non-action. He must not expect to control, but it is his duty to exercise his just influence.

Besides the young man with his living to earn there is, however, another and an increasing class, the young men of fortune, who, born independent, can devote their lives to the public service, and who wish

to do their duty by their country, while at the same time they are not without the hope of achieving fame for themselves. The problem presented to them is somewhat different from that which confronts most of us, and the difference must be recognized, but it is not so great as to prevent our considering the duty of the two classes together.

Every one will admit that whatever one's object in politics, it is best accomplished by some organization. The most gifted man preaching the clearest truth can do little while he stands alone. He must gather disciples, he must have followers willing to support his cause, or he accomplishes nothing. There is no dearth of organizations ready to welcome new adherents. There are first the two great national parties, the Republican and the Democratic, and a varying number of small parties, Labor, Socialist, and the like, among which, however, the Prohibition Party is not likely to be counted much longer. There are next a variety of

organizations formed to promote definite causes, like the Civil Service Reform League, the Tariff Reform League, and others more or less permanent, while there are also ephemeral organizations of various kinds which accomplish their object and disband, or become discouraged and die. These parties and leagues each have their place and are to be treated as tools to be used when occasion serves, as a carpenter uses now a saw and now a plane, and he who surrenders himself to any single association is like the mechanic who has only a single tool.

So far as the smaller parties, usually called "third parties," are concerned, they are valuable in that they afford an opportunity for "conscientious objectors." Those who on national issues vote for the candidates of these parties make a more or less vain protest, and they may draw away enough votes from one great party to give the victory to its rival. Sometimes, when

neither party presents an acceptable candidate, men vote a third-party ticket rather than abstain from voting altogether. These votes may indicate to party leaders where danger lies, but otherwise they are ineffectual and the results of third-party movements are negligible. Unless some great issue rouses the moral sense of the people and neither great party rises to the occasion, as when the Republican Party was founded, the enormous expenditure of money and time which is necessary in order to create and maintain a party organization prevents the success of such movements. In a great crisis only can a great party be born.

Does it follow that a voter should join one or the other of the great parties? In my judgment "no." The opinion of an intelligent foreigner is history, and no foreigner has studied our political life more thoroughly and with greater intelligence than Lord Bryce. Consider the great issues of the day, and then listen to these words:

Neither party has, as a party, anything definite to say on these issues; neither party has any clean-cut principles, any distinctive tenets. Both have certain war cries, organizations, interests enlisted in their support. But those interests are in the main the interests of getting or keeping the patronage of the government. Tenets and policies, points of political doctrine and points of political practice, have all but vanished. They have not been thrown away, but have been stripped away by Time and the progress of events, fulfilling some policies, blotting out others. All has been lost, except office or the hope of it.

An eminent journalist remarked to me in 1908 that the two great parties were like two bottles. Each wore a label denoting the kind of liquor it contained, but each was empty.

When life leaves an organic body it becomes useless, fetid, pestiferous; it is fit to be cast out or buried from sight. What life is to an organism, principles are to a party. When they which are its soul have vanished, its body ought to dissolve, and the elements that formed it be regrouped in some new organism.

How much of truth is there in this indictment?

Let me first recall to you Lincoln's words:

The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all or cannot do so well for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. I think a definition of "popular sovereignty" in the abstract would be this: that each man shall do precisely what he pleases with himself, and with those things that exclusively concern him . . . that a general government shall do all those things which pertain to it and all the local governments shall do precisely as they please in respect to matters which exclusively concern them.

The General Government deals with the questions which concern the whole country, federal taxation, the tariff, interstate commerce, the army and navy, the postal service, the currency and the like.

The State deals with a wholly different class of questions, the punishment of ordinary crime, the administration of charities, water-supply, public services of various sorts, such as street railways, savings banks, roads, the enforcement of state laws, the local courts of justice, and other matters of the same sort.

The city or town officers deal with purely local affairs, such as protection against fire, clean streets, good sewerage, the keeping of public records like those of birth, marriages, and deaths, the public health, public parks and baths, and all the various things which make the life of the citizen pleasant and healthy or the reverse.

Now it is perfectly apparent that two men may differ widely on questions of tariff or currency, and yet may be equally anxious to have clean streets and good sewers. They may or may not agree as to universal military service or the prevention of strikes, and yet be equally desirous to have able and upright courts of justice. They may differ on one cardinal question of national policy and be in absolute accord on every state and municipal matter.

The first objection to the party system now prevailing in this country is that it uses one organization to deal with every question arising either in the nation, the state, or the

city. The National Democratic Party presents its ticket for mayor of New York and for the judges who preside in the courts of that city as regularly as it asks for support when the President of the United States is to be chosen, and both parties pursue the same course all over the country. Republicans and Democrats may be partners in business, may sit together as directors of the same corporation, may belong to the same church or the same club, and in all these relations agree perfectly. Both undoubtedly want clean streets in their city, but let an election come and instead of combining to elect a man competent to keep the streets clean, they vote against each other, each supporting very likely a man of whose fitness he knows nothing, because he is nominated by the national party which he has joined on account of its attitude on the tariff. Why should not two men who agree in all matters of private business get together when questions of public business on

which they also agree are to be determined? When the national, state, and municipal elections are held on the same day, as they often are, there are presented to the voter two party ballots containing the names of candidates for national office who are to deal with national questions, candidates for state offices who are to deal with state questions, and candidates for local offices who are to deal with local questions, and the voter who is Republican or Democrat on national issues is expected to vote the whole ticket, often in entire ignorance of the views entertained by the candidates for state and local offices as well as of their character and efficiency. As illustrations, we have had in Chicago a ballot two feet, two inches by eighteen and a half inches, with 334 names; in New York a ballot two feet, four inches by eight and a half inches, with 825 names.

It is as if the judge presiding in some court were to say to the jurymen at the opening of a term, "Gentlemen, there will

come before you for trial at this term a great variety of cases. There will be suits against railroads for damages caused by accidents, there will be suits against various parties on promissory notes, there will be actions of libel, there will be suits by builders to recover for their work in erecting houses, there will be contests over wills, and others too numerous to mention. The parties in each case will be different, the merits of the cases will vary, the questions raised will differ widely, but you must adhere to one simple rule. In the first case you must render your verdict according to the evidence after due deliberation, but that verdict will govern the verdict in every other case. If in that first case your verdict is for the plaintiff, it must be for the plaintiff in every other case tried before you. If for the defendant you must find for the defendant in every case." Such a charge would be deemed the quintessence of absurdity, yet it is the practical rule on which a majority of

the voters all over the country have been wont to act.

The treaty of peace with Germany affords an excellent illustration of the way in which the party system works. The questions which it presents are national questions, and however they are decided, the decision affects every citizen of the United States alike. If the treaty makes war more probable, Republicans and Democrats alike must fight in our armies and share the sacrifices and expenses which war entails. If Japan ought not to have the rights and privileges in China which for brevity we call Shantung, no Republican gains or loses by a decision either for or against her, anything that his Democratic neighbor does not also gain or lose. Yet with few exceptions we find the Senate dividing on party lines and ignoring the sound rule that in dealing with foreign countries party contests should cease at the seashore.

These results are due to the fact that these

great party organizations fall under the control of men who are willing to give their lives or a considerable part of their lives to the business of running them, many from personal ambition, many to gain office as a livelihood, or influence which can be made profitable, and some from a laudable desire to serve the public. Whatever the original motive, the first two classes know that their future depends on the success of the party which they have chosen to join, and the members of the third class soon learn to sympathize with those who have acted with them in great campaigns, and to distrust those who have opposed them. They are easily led to look through partisan spectacles unless at any time the issue is peculiarly clear.

The view of the party leader is expressed crudely in the article from a Tennessee newspaper, from which I quote the following:

The *Record* laments with all its sorrowful soul

the breaking-up of partisan Democracy, the decay of militant organization, the loose-jointed ramshackleness of doctrine. This paper believes in organization, in loyalty to party, in following the leaders, in the party whip, in intolerant force to keep the ranks closed, in old-time allegiance, in better sticking to principles, in reading men out when they flicker or rebel.

It's the only way to win! And to stay won! If you do not believe in them, go and join something else. If you cannot stand square up to the rack, get out of the stall and let somebody eat the fodder. A party to win wants men it can count on every day in the week.

It is the only fault in Woodrow Wilson. If he had drawn the bull whip he could have forced the Democratic senators to eat out of his hand. As it is, he and every man-jack of them has his own standard of Democracy. He had no business congratulating a Republican for beating a Democrat for Governor of the State of Massachusetts. He sets an example of recalcitrancy. He is the leader of the Democratic Party, elected by that party, and it is his bounden duty to stand by that party. The party committed a blunder in Massachusetts, but are you going to kill your goose because it misses laying a golden egg every time? It was our party leader's business to pat them on the back and tell them not to blunder again. There are a thousand other virtues in the Democratic Party in Massachusetts that are

worth fostering, and a thousand other vices in the Republican Party that condemn it, and are you going to judge them by only one act?

The word "partisan" has been brought into unmerited disrepute somehow, when the God's truth is that it is not only right and righteous, but it is the only right way to win. Stand by the colors!

The party leaders wish well-disciplined armies, and they recognize the fact that it is dangerous to let their followers act with their opponents at all. It is the essence of Republican faith that all Democrats are bad and unfit to be trusted with power, while Democrats are taught to regard Republicans as supporters of privilege and plutocracy, combined in what is gracefully called a "plunderbund." These beliefs would be rudely shaken if Republican and Democrat should work side by side in a city or a state election. They would learn to know each other, to find points of agreement, to recognize that they really want the same things, and the leaders could no longer count on the constant support of their followers.

I recall a very indignant letter from a distinguished Republican leader to me after Seth Low as an independent candidate had sought to wrest the control of New York City from Tammany Hall and had been defeated because the Republican organization, instead of supporting him, had nominated a Republican candidate and so divided the vote against Tammany, in which my correspondent said that Mr. Low ought "to be spanked from one end of Broadway to the other." Mr. Low would have made and afterward did make an admirable mayor, and was an eminent Republican, but he was not the candidate of the national organization, and so deserved condign punishment. My correspondent was a Massachusetts man, but he thought he knew better than New York Republicans of equal standing, who was a proper candidate for mayor in New York City.

Another motive which induces the national parties to insist on controlling state

and local elections is found in the patronage of state and city which can be and is used to reward political service. If the local election turned on the question whether the streets of the city should be kept clean and well-paved, the candidates would probably be selected because of their executive ability and their experience in street-cleaning, and whichever was elected the street-cleaning department would be organized and run so as to do well the work for which it was created. The result would be better for the streets and those who use them, but so much patronage would be lost to the party. Hence it is important that men should be led to vote for candidates according to their views on the tariff without regard to their fitness as street-cleaners.

It should be obvious that the wishes of the party organization and the interests of the voters in these matters do not coincide, and that while organization is necessary in order to accomplish a public object, it

should be an organization formed with that object in view and it should invite all to join who sympathize with its purpose. In the city it should be a "clean-street," "pure-water" party—in the state, perhaps, as lately in Massachusetts, a "law-and-order" party, or a party formed to secure good state government. The voter whose object is to secure some definite public good should be careful to see that his vote is so cast as to accomplish that object and is not thrown away on a false issue.

In passing, let me make a few practical suggestions. If, as should be the case, you seek to improve conditions in your own city or town, to secure for yourself and your fellow-citizens an honest and efficient administration of your local business, there are two things to be borne in mind.

One is that there is no royal road to good city government. There are many who think that if they can get a good city charter, they can go off and leave it to work auto-

matically. To such let me quote the words of Carl Schurz: "If Gabriel draws your charter and Lucifer administers it, your government will be bad. If Lucifer draws your charter and Gabriel is called upon to administer it, your government will be good." We often speak of the forces which govern us as "the machine." The comparison is misleading. There is no machine, but a combination of men, often called "a combine." As the best machine needs human hands to work it, and if the hands are good will accomplish good results, while in bad hands it is easily wrecked or useless, so the powers which a charter gives must be trusted to honest men or the best charter fails to accomplish its purpose.

The second thing is that good city government is only won by hard and persistent work. The men who form "the combine" are regulars. They are working for their living every day in the year, and they cannot be defeated by volunteers who enlist for a cam-

paign of a few weeks preceding an election. The machine must be met by a well-organized force ready to do all the work which is needed, remembering, however, that a force so working for right need not work quite so hard as one which is working for evil—"Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just."

The trouble with organizations formed to secure good municipal government too often is that they lack initiative. Instead of selecting candidates of their own and calling upon their fellow-citizens to help elect them because they will make good officers, they yield so far to the party system that they let the little coteries of politicians who call themselves Republican or Democratic committees make their nominations, and then take "Hobson's choice," never an inspiring alternative. The result is such an announcement as was made a few weeks ago by the Good Government Association of Boston which was as follows:

We do not find in the entire list of candidates anyone whom, according to our standard of character and experience, we can recommend for election. We feel, however, that we owe a duty to the voters to point out at least those of the candidates who in our opinion are most likely to render some service in the council. Our list, therefore, must be considered not one of recommendation, but merely as the best under all the circumstances.

The statement says further that the candidates

are as great in number, with few exceptions, and less in quality, with no exception, than in any year since the new charter was inaugurated.

Efficient municipal government is not likely to be secured by men whose labors produce such a result as this. We need men who will lead and are not content with a choice of evils.

Pursuing our investigation we must be struck with the fact that great parties do their work, accomplish the object for which they were formed, and then tend to become mercenary armies. The Republican Party was formed to keep slavery out of the terri-

tories, and was forced to fight the Civil War in order to abolish slavery and to reconstruct the Union. This done its work was done, but its organization continued, and for a while lived on the feelings and prejudices created by the war. "There's another Presidency in the bloody shirt" was the pithy saying of a Presidential candidate who never realized his ambition, but it stated the tie which kept the party together. The Democratic Party had opposed the Government, had declared the war a failure, and it took years to recover from the odium of having tried in the interest of slavery to defeat the effort to restore the Union, while the Republican Party lived because the people did not trust its rival.

The end of the reconstruction period, which may be said to have come during the administration of President Hayes, practically left the parties without an issue, and since then they have been seeking an issue for each election; as, for example, lately

when Republican leaders proposed that the treaty of peace with Germany should go unratified and the whole world be left to suffer for a year and very likely two in order to create an issue for the next Presidential election.

A little reflection will open your eyes to the truth. It is not difficult to read in the party platform what passed when the party leaders met to frame it. We need not be present at the meeting. They do not come together determined to state clearly some great purpose and to consider how best they can present it to the people and lead them to support it. On the contrary, their attitude is that of followers, not leaders. They seek to discover what the voters want and promise that, having in view the various bodies of voters whose wishes are often opposed, and trying to attract them all. Their discussion proceeds somewhat in this way: "We must have a plank or two on the labor question so drawn as to get the labor

vote without antagonizing the employers to whom we must look for contributions to the campaign fund. We need some strong promises to the veterans, or we may lose the soldier vote. Such promises if kept mean increased taxes and higher cost of living, but the cost falls on the public, and we must therefore have another plank insisting on the strictest economy in the expenditure of public money and promising to reduce the cost of living." So the debate proceeds, and the careful student who examines the opposing platforms of the great parties for a series of years and compares promise with performance will find much to amuse him, and be left with the conviction that the voter is less intelligent than he thinks himself and more easily fooled.

The Republican Party records with pride that it freed the slave and made him a citizen, with all the rights of a citizen, by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. We

know that in a large part of the country the negro's rights are denied. When has there been in any Republican platform a clear-cut demand that those rights shall be recognized? Why does the party leave its great work unfinished? The answer is simple. There is danger that such a declaration would cost some doubtful states.

In 1852 both Whigs and Democrats insisted that the Compromise of 1850 had settled the slavery question. The country was on the eve of civil war, but the party leaders closed their eyes to the situation and a new party sprang into being. The party managers say to each other, "Find some issue, some slogan, some cry like 'Tippecanoe and Tyler too,' which will appeal to the hysterical public, and frame our platform accordingly." We all know that they have in mind the votes of various classes, the soldier vote, the labor vote, the woman suffrage vote, the Irish vote, or the German vote, and that their platforms are drawn to

attract them, though comparatively little effort is made to fulfil the platform promises. Hence the saying that political platforms are like the platforms of railroad cars, "made to get in by, not to stand on." Men whose only object is to win an election are not the men to lead a great country in a great crisis. We want men who would rather risk defeat than fail to face a threatening danger. We never hit high by aiming low.

It is a significant fact that the names of men prominent as leaders during years of public life are rarely associated with any great reform or wise law. The great changes in our government which are embodied in recent amendments to the constitution are not the work of the parties. The popular election of senators was brought about by a demand coming from members of both parties. National prohibition was never a party issue, but was secured by an independent organization formed for that purpose, and against the private desire of many legislators

who voted for it, if not of a majority. In like manner woman suffrage has been won by the efforts of persons most of whom were not even voters. If any great reform is to be accomplished, it cannot be left for any existing party to push it. We must have an organization formed to support it.

So it is with minor reforms. The Civil Service Reform law was passed in the second session of a Congress. In both Houses of Congress there was a Republican majority and at the first session the reform was openly flouted by the party leaders. "Snivel service reform" and like opprobrious epithets were used to describe it, and though both parties in their platform had professed great regard for it, Congress would have none of it. An independent association or series of associations was formed to promote it. The question was carried into the elections. Some civil service reformers were elected, the Republicans lost their majority, and as soon as the second session of Congress opened

they hastened to pass the law, not even taking time to debate it in the House of Representatives.

The Australian ballot and other political reforms have been carried by like organizations, and we cannot doubt that the future will repeat the past.

Assuming that every man means that his vote shall do some good, that he does not vote for the mere sake of voting or because it is the fashion to vote, it is clear that he must have in mind some object and decide for whom to vote in order to attain it. The men who are Republicans or Democrats because their fathers were, who vote against the peace treaty because their fathers voted for the abolition of slavery, have little influence in elections. They are the capital of the "bosses," the men upon whose support they can rely no matter what the issue or how bad the candidate. They subscribe to the doctrine thus announced by a Republican governor of Massachusetts:

> We are engaged in a prolonged political warfare in this country. Two great political armies are arrayed against each other . . . and each man's duty is to stand by the flag that symbolizes his political faith and yield loyal support to the man who has been selected to bear that standard.

In short, he must surrender his judgment and his conscience to the party managers, the "practical men."

The country once applauded the sentiment, "He serves his party best who serves his country best." This doctrine reverses it and makes service to one's party the best service to one's country. It is to say, "Our party right or wrong." No party magnates need concern themselves about the votes which they cannot lose. It is the doubtful votes for which they must bid, the votes which they are likely to lose. They make one plank for the soldier vote and another for the labor vote. If we want to use a great party to accomplish some reform, we must have a reform vote so large and in the hands of men so much in earnest that they cannot

be disregarded. The larger such a vote is and the more thoroughly it is organized, the more each party bids for it, and the party which keeps its platform promises—whose acts support its words—makes the best bid. It is not by slavish adherence to any party, but by willingness to act independently, that a body of voters exercises an influence on policies and makes party an effective tool. The labor vote passes an Adamson bill, the soldier vote gets enlarged pensions. We must have a citizen's vote which will get wise legislation for the public as a whole.

It is not, therefore, by joining a party and adhering to it through thick and thin that a citizen exercises his proper influence in public affairs. It is by enlisting for a cause in some organization formed to advance that cause, and making that organization so strong that the parties must bid for its vote, that one really works to some purpose in politics, and this is the course which experience commends to a public-spirited man.

A few words more and I shall leave this branch of my subject. There are men who starting in life are attracted by politics and enlist in some organization, relying on the prospect of salaried office for support. As a rule he who yields to this temptation faces disaster. For a while, perhaps, everything runs smoothly and promotion is rapid. On the strength of success the young man marries and adds to his own the expenses of a family. If he holds an elective office, sooner or later his party is defeated or some more popular candidate takes the nomination of his party away from him, and perhaps when he is too old to begin a new career, and when his expenses are at their maximum, he finds himself without support, compelled to beg for some appointment or some employment from political friends who would like to forget him. If he holds by appointment the same misfortune may overtake him when his term expires or his office is abolished, or a change of parties drives him out. After

each national election we hear of "lame ducks" in Washington. These are Congressmen who have lost their seats. They stay in Washington seeking some appointment which will pay them enough to support them. They are to be pitied as they limp from office to office. Some are relieved for a while by an appointment, but many are lamed permanently. It is the sad end of an ambitious life.

Moreover, if the party of an official who lives by his salary adopts a policy or nominates a candidate to which his conscience objects, he must silence his conscience or abandon his livelihood. He cannot oppose his party and retain its support. This dependence on party turns many a man who might have been a brave and conscientious citizen into a miserable coward, or so far blunts his perception that he gradually comes to support men and opinions that at the outset of his career he would have scorned. Almost unconsciously step by step

he goes down until if he recognized his descent he would say with Satan, "Farewell, remorse! All good to me is lost. Evil, be thou my good."

The small class of men who do not depend on office for support may not meet with such complete ruin, but it is very hard for them to turn their backs upon their party and all it offers of honor and consideration to him who serves it faithfully. The man who has once tasted the sweets of power lays it down reluctantly, and the highways of politics are strewn with men who have sacrificed their ideals, or, as the phrase goes, have "sold their souls" for political preferment.

The temptation which proved too much for these men is one of which he who aims at real success must always beware. Let him choose some cause worthy of high effort and devote himself to that, in office or out of office, never sacrificing it for any personal gain, and though the party builders reject him, thus and thus only can he become "the

headstone of the corner." He who betrays his cause may get the "ribbon to stick on his coat," but the reward is worthless in the eyes of a real man. Whatever else you do as voters or as the holders of public office, do not follow him "who to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

If you must be partisan, be the partisan of some great cause which is worthy of support, not the tool of the "practical men" who count on your ignorance and appeal to your prejudice. The citizen in his political action must, as Wendell Phillips said of the agitator, have "no bread to earn, no candidate to elect, no party to save, no object but the truth," if he would really serve his country.

May I conclude as I concluded a discussion of this subject many years ago:

"Whatever his field, however, let him who decides to seek a career in politics remember that in such a career office is an accident, and not an end. When he has made himself the exponent of a cause, or has shown

conspicuous ability to deal with some public question, he may find himself called to office, but the office is only an opportunity —a position of advantage from which to carry on the battle. In so doing he may incur odium, and may lose his office, but he should not therefore abandon the fight. 'His Majesty's Opposition' is as necessary to good government as the Ministerial Bench. It is not success to be on the winning side. It is not success to get and keep office, if only the incumbent of the office is profited thereby. Nor is success to be determined by the issue of this or that election, or the results of a single decade.

"It is success to fight bravely for a principle, even if one does not live to see it triumph.

"He who would take part in politics, whether he merely wishes to do his duty, or desires a brilliant career, must learn to wait. He must plant himself on the historical standpoint and not expect to accomplish

great results in a single campaign. When Frémont was defeated it seemed to many as if the cause of freedom was lost forever, but in less than ten years slavery had ceased to exist. In 1864 many believed the war a failure, and a great party so pronounced it, but in a few months came Appomattox. When Hannibal was at the gates of Rome few of its citizens could look forward to Zama. The strong forces in human society are truth and courage, and they are sure to triumph in any contest with fraud and error, though it may take long to win the victory."

There is wisdom in the words of Horace Mann when he saw a measure, to the preparation and support of which he had given years, defeated in the Massachusetts legislature, "The truth is that I was in a hurry and God is not."

Political progress is a slow process of growth. It is the result of educating a whole community. For a while it seems as if nothing were accomplished; but constant, patient

effort gradually prepares the public mind, and finally some trifling circumstance, some peculiarly clear case of abuse, produces a popular outburst, and thenceforth the path of reform is easy.

At such a crisis the man who has long been identified with an unpopular cause may suddenly find himself a leader, and perhaps compelled by public demand to take office. If he regards it as an opportunity and continues the fight all the more vigorously, his future is secure. If he falters and compromises with his principles for fear of losing his popularity and his office, he learns to realize the truth of the stern text: "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it." Our national pathway is lined with the graves of men who have failed at the supreme moment and have died repeating that "Republics are ungrateful," when to them at least their Republic has been only just.

Every citizen who honestly studies the political questions of his time will reach

definite conclusions as to how those questions should be dealt with. If he will endeavor actively to have them settled as he thinks they should be, and will give to the work a very moderate portion of his leisure throughout the year, he will not only do his duty as a citizen, but he will be surprised at the interest which he takes in the work and at the results which are accomplished. He will find that his horizon is broadened and his whole life made fuller and richer. This is in itself a sufficient reward, if he wins no other. But if he is only true to principle, sooner or later his fellow-citizens will demand his service. If he is fitted to fill office the office will seek him. The highest type of the citizen is Cincinnatus. In the words of Heraclitus, which are as true in politics as in every other human pursuit: "Character is destiny."

LAWLESSNESS

In this lecture I propose to discuss what every citizen who would help his country is bound to respect—and that is the law.

Laws are the rules which regulate the relations of men to society and to each other, which determine the rights of the citizen and his obligations to every other citizen and to the community at large, represented by city, state or nation. It is hardly too much to say that civilization is the process of restraining the will of the individual by law, that the liberty of a people depends on its success in curbing by a written or unwritten constitution the power of its rulers, and that the cause of justice in the world is advanced by observing the law of nations.

The law is the judgment of the community as to what is necessary or convenient, and when it ceases to accord with the needs of the community, the law itself prescribes how

it may be changed. Whenever a citizen in public office or in private life asserts the right to break the law, whatever his reason, he substitutes his own judgment for the judgment of the community. Such a man constitutes himself the legislature, and makes laws not only for himself, but for his neighbors at his pleasure. The wisest and most temperate cannot claim this power without conceding it to his most youthful, most careless, most intemperate fellow-citizen. The power of making laws is in the legislature, and any one, be he President or schoolboy, who claims this power for himself and at his own pleasure breaks a law, opens the door to disorder and riot.

As President Roosevelt well said:

> The corner-stone of this Republic, as of all free governments, is respect for and obedience to the law. Where men permit the law to be defied or evaded, whether by rich man or poor man, by black man or white, we are by just so much weakening the bonds of our civilization and increasing the chances of its overthrow and of the substitution therefor of

a system in which there shall be violent alternations of anarchy and tyranny.

Laws are of different value, but at any given time in a country like ours they represent the wisdom of the majority, and they vary with the public opinion of the day. Some are passed to meet an emergency, some seem dictated by momentary hysteria, some are experiments, most of them are passed in haste. Often the lawmakers yield against their own judgment to a noisy public opinion, or hope to gain support from some body of voters who will profit by the legislation. To the trained student of public affairs many laws seem unwise, many seem dangerous, many seem sure to fail, but against the soldier vote, or the labor vote, or the temperance vote, resistance seems hopeless. The wise man knows that many will prove futile and become dead letters, that public opinion will change and recognize the folly of others, and not infrequently he may find that his own wisdom was at fault, and that

what seemed to him bad laws have worked well in practice. An experiment has succeeded which he thought sure to fail.

Nearly seventy years ago the Commonwealth of Massachusetts woke up one morning to find that the control of her government had been secured by a secret organization called "the Know Nothings," a party founded on a feeling against foreign-born citizens and destined to enjoy a very brief existence. "The Know Nothing Legislature," as it was called, proceeded diligently to legislate amid the scorn and ridicule of the defeated party leaders, and its work excited the liveliest apprehension among the conservative citizens of the state. A very eminent lawyer told me some years ago that he had taken the pains to read through the statutes which that legislature passed and was amazed to find how very large a proportion of them had been embodied in the permanent legislation of Massachusetts, and how few were really foolish.

The statesman and the scholar may find much to criticize in the laws at any time in force, but good or bad, wise or foolish, there is only one course open to the citizen and that is obedience to the law, while it is the law. "The best way to secure the repeal of a bad law is to enforce it," was the pithy saying of a great American. If it is bad the citizen may agitate against it by pen and tongue, may unite with others to educate his fellow-citizens so that they may recognize its folly or its dangers and so secure its repeal, but he must none the less obey it until it is repealed. Any other course is anarchy.

I hear that some modern thinkers would persuade you that if a law does not commend itself to your conscience, it is your duty to disobey it. This is a most dangerous doctrine, on no account to be accepted. It is, of course, possible to put extreme cases where a man should obey his conscience rather than the law, but such cases are extremely rare. The rule is that a man must

speak the truth, but casuists can always put cases where the rule must yield, as when bad news is concealed by falsehood from a very ill person for fear that the truth may cause the patient's death. One may in like manner imagine laws which a man would rather go to the stake than obey, but any advice founded on such imaginings is most unsound.

Conscience is an elastic term which may mean very different things to different men. One man will speak of conscience when he only means his dislike to a law which curtails his pernicious activities, or interferes with his convenience. One man thinks that his constitutional rights are invaded by a law which the majority of his fellow-citizens consider essential to public safety. If he resists he will put it on the ground that his conscience forbids obedience. A great many people of both sexes are confident that the customs laws are tyrannical and unjust in forcing them to pay duties on their pur-

chases abroad, and conscientiously feel bound to evade them. With exceptions so rare as to be negligible no citizen can refuse to obey the law and justify his disobedience by appealing to his conscience. He must yield to the will of the majority in this as in much else when he lives in a republic. There is much wisdom in the oft-repeated verse of John Trumbull,

> "No man e'er felt the halter draw
> With good opinion of the law."

One of the greatest dangers which now confronts us is the growing tendency to ignore or disobey the law. There is a law-abiding instinct in every man of true American stock, and it finds expression in the commonplaces of our speech. If a man is annoyed by some discourtesy of his neighbor, or by what seems a public abuse, he exclaims, "There ought to be a law against such things"; while on the other side the offender, when brought to book, takes refuge in the remark, "Well, I guess there isn't any law

against it." Our legislatures every year are overwhelmed with demands for new laws, until the volume which contains the new legislation of a single year in one state far exceeds in size the volume which contains the legislation of Parliament for the whole British Empire. But notwithstanding this inborn sentiment, men in practice disobey the laws that they do not like, while insisting that their neighbors shall obey the laws which they do like, or, as Hudibras put it,

> "Compound for sins they are inclined to
> By damning those they have no mind to."

Let me call your attention to conspicuous examples of dangerous lawlessless. Some months ago Mr. Gompers, the eminent leader of organized labor, said to a committee of the United States Senate that if a law were passed making strikes by railroad employees illegal and punishable, he should not hesitate to defy the law. His statement probably defines the attitude of two or more

millions of men, who practically can arrest the business of the United States, and thus presents a very serious question. No state can interfere with interstate commerce in any way, but these men claim a power which is denied to New York or Ohio, and which the people would never by law entrust to any one.

If it is desired that there should be in every community men with power to arrest its business until some question between an employer and workmen is settled, should not that power be intrusted to public officers? Imagine the attempt of a legislature to frame a law giving to one or more persons such a power. The very idea is ridiculous, but if the attempt were made, would not the legislature guard such a power jealously? Would it not insist on a clear statement of the question at issue, would it not provide for careful investigation and public hearing, before the power was exercised? If such a law were passed, would not the men chosen

to exercise the power be selected very carefully? They would be chosen by the votes of the whole community to exercise powers which would affect gravely the whole community. Do you not see that no such powers would ever be given even to the most responsible men? Yet these powers are freely exercised to-day whenever they see fit by men who do not represent the public.

A general strike by the railroad employees of the country would work more injury to the whole people than an invasion by a foreign army. The movement of food and fuel essential to the lives of the citizens would be arrested, the workmen who go by rail to their work would at least be delayed, the machinery and supplies of all kinds which our factories require would soon fail, and no one knows how many men and women would be thrown out of employment. The children in the nursery, the sick in the hospital, every man, woman, and child in the country would suffer, the strikers would

spend their substance, starvation, disease, and riot would beset the nation, and all because some question of wages, hours, or accommodations, probably a question of arithmetic, had arisen upon which the railroad managers and the labor unions could not agree.

Salus populi suprema lex. Is it possible that the community is powerless to protect itself against such a calamity? The State may call millions of men into its military and naval service against their will by conscription. For their service the conscripts are paid thirty dollars a month and are forced to encounter hardships and perils of life and limb which grow every day more serious. Once in the service disobedience of orders by any man, and of course by a combination of many to disobey, is mutiny, and may after trial by court-martial be punished by death. Yet a mutiny in the army would in all but very exceptional cases not seriously affect the mass of our people. The soldier

cannot strike because the laws made for the government of citizens in the military service forbid. The Articles of War derive all their authority from laws made by Congress, and the soldier cannot claim any constitutional right to strike.

Many things that a single man can do, a combination of men cannot do. A single manufacturer or merchant may raise the price of his goods at will. If, however, a combination of manufacturers is formed to prevent competition and enhance the price of goods, the law steps in and dissolves the combination, punishes its members as criminals, and gives all parties injured a right to claim damages from them.

The Constitution knows no classes of citizens, and their rights do not vary with their employment. If men cannot combine to raise the price of goods, it would seem that they cannot combine to raise the price of labor. Certainly the legislature which can prevent their combining to raise the price of

service as soldiers can forbid their combining to raise the price of other service even more important to the public. What is necessary to the safety of the people must be legal.

But the argument does not end here. The avowed object of criminal law is the maintenance of the public peace. If one citizen owes another money or has wronged him in any way, the injured party is not allowed to collect his debt or redress his injury by attacking the other in the public streets. This is not because the public cares for the wrongdoer, but because this method of asserting one's rights disturbs the peace. A burglar finds when indicted that he is charged with having done certain acts "against the peace of the Commonwealth." One who threatens violence to another is bound over by the court "to keep the peace," not to refrain from attacking his enemy.

The various movements to prevent war by arbitration treaties or by a league of nations

originate not so much in the desire to prevent war between the actual combatants as to prevent the disturbance of the world's peace and the inevitable injury to neutral countries. It has been found that no matter what nations are fighting, the whole world suffers and therefore statesmen try to avert that suffering.

If nations and individuals cannot fight because their contests break the public peace, why should not the same rule be applied to disputes between bodies of citizens? A strike resulting from a dispute between the miners and the mine owners, between the railroad companies and their employees, between the manufacturers of a city like Lawrence or Fall River and their workmen, or between the longshoremen and the shipowners in a city like New York which affects the commerce of the nation, disturbs the public peace almost infinitely more than a fight between two men on the street. The employees or others who are willing to work

are beaten or blown up in their houses, destruction of property almost invariably occurs, and only the presence of troops prevents the most serious disorders.

Nay, more, the strikes are aimed at the public. The strikers believe that by paralyzing the business of the country or of a city and bringing the public face to face with starvation, cold, disease, and riot, they will force the public to bring such pressure upon the employers as will make them yield. They propose by injuring the public to win their battle, and, as in Boston by the police strike, they put the public to enormous expense and loss. The striking policemen in Boston counted on so much disorder in the unprotected city that the frightened people would call them back. If they had supposed that there would be no increase in crime they would have known that such continued peace would only show that police were not needed. The policy of such strikers cannot be distinguished from that of a man

who should break the windows of all his neighbors to make one of them pay a debt.

Has not the public the right to protect itself against such injuries? The railroads, for example, are public highways. To construct them the public has given the builders the right of eminent domain. Grants of public land and loans of public money were made to build the transcontinental lines, and cities and towns helped lines which were built to serve them. They are engaged in interstate commerce which Congress has the right to regulate, a right which is exercised through the Interstate Commerce Commission in fixing rates, and by Congress through such bills as the so-called Adamson bill. Can Congress control what one citizen must charge for transporting goods, and is it powerless to fix what another must charge for his work in carrying on such transportation?

It is not necessary to go so far. Congress has the clear right to say that, as disputes between individuals must be settled by a

court, so must disputes between bodies of citizens be determined. Questions of wages, hours, accommodations, privileges, and rights are no more difficult to decide than the very complicated and difficult questions involved in the public and private controversies which courts have always dealt with. Strikes such as Mr. Gompers proposes approach the dimensions and threaten the consequences of civil war, and the time has come when public or private war as a means of determining rights must be regarded as a relic of barbarism. If men cannot settle their own disputes, the State must settle them. This principle has been adopted by the legislature of Kansas, and so far the law has worked well.

It is the duty of every good citizen to set his face against the lawlessness which is now preached by labor leaders and their sympathizers. Direct action, sabotage, syndicalism, and the like are different names for criminal violence, and unless adequate laws

are passed and inflexibly enforced against them, the consequences to our civilization will be disastrous. When a man like Mr. Gompers, as the leader of perhaps millions of men, defies Congress and threatens civil war if it exercise its undoubted power in a way which he does not approve, he should be made to realize that his attitude is hardly to be distinguished from treason.

I have dwelt at some length on the issue presented by Mr. Gompers because it is a clear illustration of the spirit which is abroad in the nation. He doubtless thinks that he would be obeying his conscience in disobeying the law which he was discussing. He would really be resisting the law because it deprived him of a weapon which he threatened to use in such a way as to injure the public. He wants to have the right so to use it, but he is not an authority on constitutional law, and he does not propose to let the courts decide whether or not he has the right which he claims. His threat is to defy

the law and the legislature, and his attitude shows at once the danger of letting each man decide for himself what the law is, and the danger of confounding unreasonable or reasonable objections with conscientious scruples.

But the labor leaders are not the only offenders. It was not long ago that the authorities in Arizona arrested a number of striking miners and carried them by railroad into a neighboring state where they were deposited on a plain which was more or less a desert. It is clear that one state has no right to send its undesirable citizens into another state, and it is equally clear that the men thus banished were dealt with illegally and brutally. Such methods return to plague the inventors, and all methods of punishing citizens for anything they do except by process of law are indefensible.

During the recent war mob violence was resorted to in order to make people buy Liberty bonds, or to prevent their discussing

public questions in ways which the neighbors did not approve, just as recently certain military and other organizations have undertaken by violence to prevent Mr. Kreisler from playing at concerts. All such things are deplorable, and unless they are checked by public opinion, they demoralize the communities where they occur and many others, for bad examples are very contagious. Men of property and standing who take part in such lawless proceedings, or even by silence seem to approve them, are teaching the poor and ignorant portion of society a very dangerous lesson in destroying that respect for law which is the main protection of their own lives and property. What has happened in Russia may sooner or later threaten the United States, and when the danger arises, the surest bulwark against it is respect for law and lawful methods planted deep in the hearts of the people.

Especially does this practice endanger the right of free speech. During the anti-slavery

contest men like Garrison were mobbed, meetings were broken up, agitators like Lovejoy were killed, and the attempt was made to prevent by mob violence the expression of unpopular truth. The right of free speech means the right to utter what men do not like to hear. No constitutional provision is needed to secure the right of any man to express popular views. The demagogue needs no protection against mob violence. He speaks what he knows the public likes, and suits his opinion to his audience.

We are constantly told that the way to do away with any abuse is to educate the people, to make them realize what are the reasons against its continuance, and why reform is necessary. Popular education is impossible if the men who undertake the task are denied a hearing. No man who believes in a government like ours should for a moment tolerate any curtailment of a free press and free speech, because those

rights are the corner-stones of republican government. We all know how intolerant one is tempted to be of foolish or intemperate words, or of mischievous propaganda, but violent repression is not the remedy. Passion does not distinguish between truth and error, and an excited mob cannot be trusted to tell which is which. Upon every citizen rests the duty of combating false views by speech if he can speak, by writing if he can write, by conversation and by example if he can do nothing more, and none the less must he uphold the right of the foolish speaker to express his foolish ideas. Otherwise he may find not only that his own wisdom may be counted foolishness by others, but that he is mobbed for teaching it.

But there is lawless speech as well as lawless action. It is lawless because it is forbidden by law, and the remedy is given by law. The transgressors should be arrested by the police, tried and punished as the law directs. This course protects the com-

munity against incitement to riot, and protects the speaker in the exercise of his rights if his speech was lawful, no matter how unpopular. Voters in a republic must learn to think clearly and whatever happens seek the redress which the law gives.

There never was a time, perhaps, when it was more difficult to follow this course, but the Constitution is made for just such emergencies, and unless good citizens who respect the Constitution obey its mandates, how can we expect the men who threaten our peace to respect a constitution which does not protect their rights?

There is sound wisdom in the practice of the English authorities who allow men to speak freely in Hyde Park, for they realize that foolish speech produces little effect, and unless the authorities regard it, excites little attention, but all attempts at repression advertise it, give it an undue importance, and create a sympathy for the speaker and probably for his views which his own speech

could never win. It was a marvelous example of this toleration when the self-styled vice-president of the Irish Republic was allowed to preach disloyalty to the Government of the British Empire to an audience of thousands in London.

We are now face to face with a great contest between law and lawlessness. The amendment to the Constitution which prohibits the manufacture and sale of spirits, wine, and beer, strikes at a well-nigh universal taste, at the unbroken habits of centuries, at traditions embalmed in prose and poetry and associated in men's minds with much that is pleasantest in their lives. It invades what have seemed to be inalienable rights, it renders much property valueless, it calls upon us to change at once the customs of a lifetime. I am not dealing with the question whether this legislation is wise or foolish. I am merely emphasizing the radical change which it makes in established habits, and its far-reaching effects.

For many years in the states such laws have been passed, modified, repealed, and passed again as public opinion has veered between prohibition, license, local option, and other methods of dealing with a recognized evil. Experience has shown that absolute prohibition has never been enforced, and many have felt that the attempt to enforce it was unwise because, when any law is openly disregarded, all law is more or less brought into contempt. It is now proposed to attempt it in a much larger area, and to put the whole power of the nation behind the attempt. It is an experiment which strains the law-abiding spirit of our people to the utmost.

We shall have an army of officers, national and state, to ferret out offenders, to look for liquor, to enforce the laws. It is not a work for which men of the first class are likely to volunteer, and the opportunities for corruption will be unlimited. To the temptations which will be offered many

officials will yield, as they yield now in every large city. Many will sympathize with the drinkers, and will not find it in their hearts to expose them. A situation may well grow up in which the law will become ridiculous, and those appointed to enforce it merely use their power to blackmail those who break it. Experience has not proved that our people are incorruptible. Juries will be slow to convict, and from one end of the country to the other the would-be drinkers and their opponents will be pitted against each other in internecine warfare.

No one familiar with the history of the attempt to control by law the universal desires and passions of men can fail to regard this experiment with grave forebodings. Very few believe that it is supported by public opinion, notwithstanding the ease with which the amendment was adopted by Congress and ratified by the states. No one who has considered the question can fail to recognize the strength of the arguments in favor

of prohibition, whatever his opinion may be as to its wisdom, but it has ceased to be a question whether the amendment is wise or not. It is the law, and as such good citizens must support it, and in my judgment they will be wise if they support its spirit and not merely its letter. They must not set an example to those who would break the law. The experiment must be tried fairly.

Some time ago in reading an article upon class feeling in England I was struck with the author's statement that the introduction of automobiles had contributed materially to increase the dislike of the general public for the moneyed classes. This feeling finds expression in such words as these which I take from the novel "John Ingleside," by Mr. Lucas:

> Socialism never had so powerful an ally as the motor car. The motor car is the most brutally vivid symbol of the callousness, the oppressiveness, and the luxury of the rich that was ever devised, and

every new motor car that is put on the road is another nail in the coffin of plutocracy.

Most of you will remember the incident in "A Tale of Two Cities" when the child is killed by the coach horses of the marquis, and its consequence.

We all know and at times share this feeling, and we even cannot help feeling a little insolent ourselves when we are in the car. If that seems too strong a statement, let me say that we at least share the pride of the fly on the coach wheel in the fable. Mr. Ford has done much to distribute the responsibility of the motor driver, and so perhaps to modify the hatred of those who run cars, but on the other hand, the lengthening list of deaths from reckless driving steadily neutralizes his efforts. I allude to this feeling because prohibition presents a new danger of widening the breach between rich and poor.

The law permits a man to keep in his own house and there use the fluids which cannot

be made, sold, or transported. It is hard and perhaps useless to say that a man who has inherited or acquired a fine cellar shall refrain from using it, when the law allows him to do so, but it must be borne in mind that when rich and poor have the same taste, and the former can gratify it while the latter cannot, the contrast does not make for harmony, and to-day harmony between all classes of our people is needed as never before. He who claims a right under the law must uphold the letter on which he relies, and do what he can to uphold the hands of those whose duty it is to enforce it. If experience justifies our fears and proves the law bad, repeal will be hastened by vigorous enforcement. The privileges and luxuries of the rich are secured by law, and they of all men must be careful that it is not used to oppress the poor, or to emphasize invidious distinctions. Do not flaunt wealth or its evidences in the faces of those who do not share it.

The power to appoint the army of employees which will be needed to enforce the law is in itself a dangerous thing. The abuse of patronage to perpetuate the power of a party or to insure the election of a candidate had become so flagrant forty years ago that the Civil Service Reform law was passed to protect the public against its own servants. Now the friends of patronage are gaining, and the Volstead law puts the men who will fill the offices that it creates outside the Civil Service law, so that they will be selected by tainted methods to do a work which only the most honest of men can be trusted to do, and an enormous control over voters is placed in the hands of the politicians who for the moment have the power of appointing or removing these officers. It may well be used to defeat the wishes of the people at a close election.

This danger would be increased were the Government given the ownership and control of public services which hitherto have

belonged to private citizens. We are witnessing the results of such ownership. For years the railroads of the United States have been prosperous as a rule, and have yielded a large revenue to their owners. Their shares and bonds have been the favorite investments of savings banks, life insurance companies, trustees for widows and orphans, and many individuals of small resources as well as of rich men. The fortunes of a great many people, depositors in savings banks and holders of life insurance policies, representatives of every class in the community are dependent on their future. The Government of the United States thinking it necessary for public reasons assumed control of them, and we are now witnessing the result in much increased expense and reduced efficiency.

The explanation is simple and the resulting peril is clear. Governmental control is inevitably political control. The powers are exercised by politicians anxious to keep their

party in power and to alienate no voters. The railroad employees are voters, well organized and affiliated with other labor organizations. The private employer can discharge or discipline a negligent or unfaithful employee without running any personal risk. The employee is more afraid of his action than he is of the Government, for he knows that the heads of the party in power will be slow to provoke a conflict with his union. Let now a close election approach and let the railroad employees say to the Government, "We must have higher wages and shorter hours or we shall strike, or vote for the opposite party." How do you think this threat would be met? It need not be made publicly; it can easily be suggested in the right quarter and be very effectual. Nay, it need not be made or suggested at all. The party in control may feel that to avoid the possible loss of votes a raise in wages had better be made, and explained on grounds which it will be hard to dispute. I do not

say that this has happened. I make no charge against any one, but I say that in the long run it is sure to happen, and that it is very dangerous to put into the hands of politicians the power over voters and the temptation to use it at public expense, which government control of railroads inevitably creates. Such a relation between the Government and a large army of workmen into which new recruits can constantly be mustered is dangerous. The railroad unions would become a new Pretorian Guard, a new body of Janissaries, and it is not difficult to see that the inevitable outcome would be disaster. The so-called Reds, whom the country now regards with suspicion, are not so dangerous as the labor unions might well become under such a system, with Mr. Gompers or a successor defying the law, and the country's peace or a party's power at stake.

Nor does the case end here. The wages paid the railroad workers create a standard,

and the power to fix these is the power to fix the wages of all wage-earners throughout the country. Our recent experience has shown us that when wages are raised in one employment, wages in others follow suit. What emperor ever had such power over his subjects as may be created under government ownership, and what burdens may not the citizen be compelled to bear! And when to the power of fixing wages is added the power of increasing at pleasure the number of men employed, consider how likely it is that the pressure for employment will be resisted by the politicians in power.

This is no imaginary danger. Let me quote the statement of facts made by Mr. Atterbury, the vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, long regarded as the best-managed of American railroad corporations:

> The Pennsylvania Railroad to-day has in its employ 168,892 persons, as against 147,718 before we went into the war, or an increase of 14 per cent. At

the same time the traffic units fell from 16,800,000,000 to 15,000,000,000, or a reduction of 11 per cent in the business. Fourteen per cent more men did 11 per cent less work. Or, expressing it in a little different way, it took 127 men in 1919 to do the work of 100 men in 1917.

What we manufacture is tonnage, and tonnage per man employed has fallen off, notwithstanding the continued introduction of heavy locomotives and other instruments of increased efficiency. The average number of traffic units per employee has fallen from 113,932 to 89,308.

In the early part of 1917 we were on a ten-hour basis. During 1919 we have been on an eight-hour basis. A 20 per cent reduction in time alone, had we worked with exactly the same effort that we did in 1917, would have moved in an eight-hour day 91,145 units. As a matter of fact there were moved only 89,308 units. The advocates of the eight-hour day claimed an increase in efficiency. In reality the results prove just the opposite—that there has been a reduction in efficiency.

Prior to our entrance into the war the men were on a piece-work basis, as well as working on a ten-hour day. When the government took over our railroad piece-work was stopped. The output per man per hour fell from 100 per cent to 75 per cent. The shops were put on an eight-hour basis. This cut the output an additional 15 per cent, so that the output per man per day in our shops is but 60 per cent of

what it was before we entered the war. In other words, it takes ten men to-day to do what six men did before the war.

What is the pecuniary result? Instead of a profit large enough to pay dividends on most of the railroads, the loss of the Government in twenty-three months is $548,000,000, though the rates have been increased some thirty per cent and the business done has increased enormously. The November revenues showed an increase of $149,200,000 as compared with the average for the month in the three-year test period before the war by which the compensation for the use of the roads to be paid by the Government was fixed, but expenses and taxes have increased more than $213,000,000. This is ruinous business, and is due in large part to the causes which Mr. Atterbury points out, increase of wages, increase of men employed, and decreased efficiency. If they do these things in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

It is not merely on economic grounds, but to save the Government itself, that the disposition to place the control of men's tastes and business in the hands of men elected on political grounds should be resisted. The dangers may not be recognized now, but the prudent man looks ahead, and need not be exceptionally wise to realize what threatens. It is because human nature is weak that we all pray, "Lead us not into temptation."

I have dealt with the more conspicuous instances of disregard for the law, and there is another which I shall treat in my next lecture, but everywhere in our daily life, if we look we can see how little the law is respected. We have careful statutes in regard to automobiles, their lights and their speed, and the care with which they must be operated, but how little are they respected, and how rarely is any breach of the law punished. Some years ago a magistrate whose duty it was to enforce the law, but who was himself the owner of an automobile

said to me, "No man would drive a motor car if he could not violate the law." Violations put all our lives in jeopardy and make the use of the public highways dangerous both for those who are in and those who are out of these cars, but none the less the community does not disturb itself, and the combined force of dealers and owners prevents proper legislation, and proper enforcement of such laws as are made.

Some time ago I spent several summers in Germany and saw cherry-trees loaded with fruit standing by the side of the streets unprotected by any fence, but absolutely free from depredation, as free as if there were a policeman and a dog at the foot of each tree, but near any of our large cities gardens and orchards are constantly raided, and if the trespassers are caught, the lower courts, from mistaken sympathy, fail to impose any adequate punishment; and as a result we find the cultivation of fruits and vegetables abandoned because the cultivator wishes to

feel that he can enjoy the crops which his labor has created, and if he cannot he will not work for the benefit of thieves. Unpunished theft sets an example and produces disrespect for the law, and it would be better for us all if examples were made of those who steal fruit, and who if unpunished may become more dangerous malefactors. I could give you many more illustrations of lawlessness, but I must leave some open for your memory and imagination. These are only a few out of many examples.

Lawlessness has other avenues of attack upon constituted authority. Nothing can overthrow the law so completely as the overthrow of the courts. We must all agree that the best way of settling disputes between men or nations is by submitting the question at issue to some court or board of arbitration composed of men as impartial as the lot of humanity will permit. Experience has shown that the better course is to establish a tribunal fitted to deal with all disputes,

rather than to wait until the question arises and then endeavor to create a special tribunal to deal with that case. It is inevitable that when the parties to a dispute seek to agree upon those who are to judge between them, each side will try to get judges who by disposition or supposed sympathies will be likely to support its view, and thus decide the case. Each side inevitably suspects the choice of the other in selecting the judges, and there is too much room for jockeying. The court should be constituted of able, impartial, trained men, fit to deal with any disputed question, and should await the case.

All who are familiar with courts must agree that the judges should be removed from all influences likely to affect their decision, that they should hear the arguments of the parties and reach their conclusion deliberately. The traditional figure of Justice is made blindfold to indicate that she must not see the contestants, but only hear

the case and decide, not knowing the parties and dealing equal justice to rich and poor, friend and enemy.

Within ten years dissatisfaction with the judgments of courts has led the defeated parties to urge that judges be taken from the bench by popular vote, or at least that an appeal to the people should lie from their decisions. The recall of judges and the recall of decisions each has its advocates, and the last is urged as an easy way of amending a constitution. Recent experience would lead us to believe that amending the constitution is made easy enough, but at any rate existing methods give time for thought and argument. In dealing with either proposed recall it is well to remember that neither remedy is likely to be invoked save in cases of great public interest where some question as to the constitutionality of law is involved.

We must not lose sight of the fact that constitutions are made to protect the people against the tyranny of officials, or to protect

the rights of the minority or the individual against the tyranny of the majority. If now a decision which accomplishes this purpose and protects the rights of a minority can by any process be submitted to a popular vote and reversed if a majority so decides, the whole object of the constitution is defeated, and men's rights, property, and lives are at the mercy of the majority, which at the moment may be as passionate, as prejudiced, as hysterical as was the Parisian mob in 1790. Any such system substitutes popular clamor for deliberate judgment, and the feeling of the moment for those settled principles upon which civilized government must rest. It is an appeal from the court to the mob.

The recall of judges strikes at that security which is essential to justice. If a judge is made to feel that an unpopular decision may cost him his seat on the bench, leave him and his family without the means of support at a time of life when he will find

it hard to make a living, two things must result. Strong men will decline to become judges if they must decide not as their judgment and conscience dictate, but as the popular feeling demands on pain of losing their positions, and weak men will follow the public demand at the expense of justice. Either form of recall strikes at the very root of our judicial system, and establishes lawlessness on the bench. Every good citizen must realize that upon good judges the law depends. We want high character, sound judgment, courage, conscience, and ability. Weak or incompetent courts bring the law and its processes into contempt. When a man who accepts a judgeship must take the vow of poverty and deny his family the opportunities which he could give them if he did not take it, the Bench must suffer. These are obvious truths, but the law suffers because the public refuses to recognize them.

The people of the United States need the best courts that the country can give, and

they cannot afford poor courts. The decisions of our judges affect the whole scope and power of the Government and deal with vital questions. The position of judge should be made attractive to the best men in the country, and the office should seek the man. We cannot get such men as we need unless we offer fair compensation and assure them against any influences which will tend to destroy their absolute independence.

Men contrast an appointed with an elective judiciary, but there is no elective judiciary. All judges are appointed, possibly by some group of political leaders in return for the contribution to the campaign fund of a sum equal to a year's salary, as was once the practice in New York, possibly by a committee of lawyers, but the people as a whole cannot select intelligently. It is better to have the appointment made openly by a governor who must bear the responsibility for a bad choice than by an irresponsible man or knot of men acting in secret. The

elected judge knows that sooner or later he must come again to the polls, and that an unpopular decision may cost him his place. Can there be any doubt as to the effect of that knowledge on his independence?

We must return to the ideals of our fathers and insist that this shall be "a government of laws, and not of men." The violent invasion of every man's rights by his neighbor can be prevented in any community only by force or by law. Our whole fabric of civilization rests upon the law. It is the framework of our political edifice, which is kept in place by the respect for the law which is felt by the community as a whole. When that is gone, when men no longer obey the law voluntarily because it is the law, there is no alternative but force, which, wielded by a just and temperate man to-day, may to-morrow fall into the hands of a tyrant or a sot. It was a short journey from Augustus to Nero. In the words of Chatham: "Where law ends tyranny be-

gins." Lawlessness opens the door of the State to the dictator. It always has in human history, and it always will.

Let me reinforce my statement by the authority of Elihu Root who says:

> One of the reasons for the conditions that exist at the present time is the intellectual and moral failure to understand that the law must be observed. . . . We know that we cannot give free opportunity for very good and well-intentioned people without giving the same opportunity to those who would exercise a grinding, grasping, despotic power. There can be no guarantee of security unless we have a government of laws, and not of men; unless the dictates of the impulse of the moment conform to the rules of law and order. We know that the guidance of all, good as well as bad, in accordance with the principles of the law, is essential to the maintenance of peace and order and the attainment of prosperity.
>
> We have never seen the time when unconsciously the people of the country ignored that truth to so great an extent as at present.

What is our duty? First and always to maintain the law; to teach respect for it by speech and by example, in public and in private, and to condemn its violation when-

ever and by whomsoever committed. I cannot urge this so well as in the words of Lincoln, uttered in 1837:

> Let reverence for the law be breathed by every American mother to the babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools and colleges, let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation, and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the grave and the gay, of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars.

If law is to be respected, it must be respectable. We must purify its source. The law which a majority of the legislature honestly approves rests upon a sure foundation. It is the will of the people expressed by their representatives, and they will respect it as such. The law, which is bought by money, patronage, or other improper influence, is no law, but a fraud, and the people not only will not respect it, but they lose their respect for all law. Men fight fire with fire, and either try to buy laws for themselves, or,

unable to do this, disregard the statute when their convenience dictates, and so make a law for themselves, thus beginning, to quote again from Mr. Roosevelt, "the substitution for our civilization of a system in which there shall be violent alternations of anarchy and tyranny," both of which are equally fatal to liberty. Just laws enacted by honest men command respect and execute themselves, but laws which are made to favor an individual or a class unjustly, and are paid for by patronage or cash, whether paid to the legislator or the campaign fund of his party, rest upon injustice and corruption and infect the whole body politic.

Herbert Spencer said in 1882:

> Free institutions can be maintained only by citizens, each of whom is instant to oppose every illegitimate act, every official excess of power, however trivial it may seem. . . . All these lapses from higher to lower forms begin in trifling ways and it is only by incessant watchfulness that they can be prevented.

We must all enlist in defence of the law,

lest we learn too late that there is a law which no nation and no man can violate with impunity, that universal law by which ruin waits upon corruption, and which was written for all time in the stern sentence: "The wages of sin is death."

RACE PREJUDICE

In my last lecture, while discussing the importance of obeying the law and giving instances of lawlessness, I said that there was another conspicuous instance. I propose now to speak of that, as it is an example of the race and class prejudice which is a fruitful source of danger to this country. The true principle on which government by the people should rest is expressed in the phrase, "Each for all and all for each." The enlightened citizen should learn to put himself in his neighbor's place, see with his eyes, and thus instructed consider what is good for his neighbor's interest as well as for his own. Any other course is blind selfishness.

The prospects of peace and prosperity all over the world are clouded by injustice arising from racial and class antipathies, and in our own country the former is intensified by the prejudice of color, a legacy from the days

when negro slavery existed in this country. Let me deal with this first.

The census of 1800 showed that the population of the United States was 5,308,433 persons of whom nearly one-fifth were negro slaves. In 1860 the slave population in the nine seceding states was about 3,500,000 out of 9,000,000, and taking the other slave states the total slave population was about 4,000,000. To-day we roughly estimate the negro population of the country at about twelve millions.

These twelve millions of people are citizens of the United States, entitled under the Constitution to every right which any white citizen enjoys, and by the Fifteenth Amendment protected in their right to vote, against any discrimination founded on race, color, or previous condition of servitude. They are called upon to perform every duty of a citizen, to pay taxes, to serve in the army, to hold their property subject to the right of eminent domain. Four hundred and seven-

teen thousand of them were drafted into our armies, and, in the words of Secretary Daniels, "more than two hundred thousand negroes went across the sea to fight, not a few of them to seal their devotion with their blood, and many to win decorations for their fine fighting qualities and faithful services." When "a zealous gentleman" assured the Secretary that Prussian spies were to organize a negro division of treason, the Secretary replied by assuring him "that though here and there he might find a traitor among the American negroes he might give himself no trouble, for I knew that the negroes could neither be cajoled nor threatened nor bought to enter a conspiracy to injure this country." Of what other element in our population can we be equally sure, remembering as we must Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr, to say nothing of the many whose machinations wrought us great harm during the war which is just ended. What race in the world, treated as

we treat the negroes, would be as loyal to their oppressors?

Secretary Daniels was speaking in favor of erecting a monument at Washington to commemorate the services of our colored soldiers in the war, but the negroes of this country are entitled to a far better reward—the recognition of their rights as men and as citizens wherever the flag floats for which they fought.

No greater dangers threaten us to-day than those which arise from the treatment of the negroes all over this country, especially in the former slave states. Bred in the bone of the whites who were born in those states is the conviction that the negroes are their inferiors, intended by nature to be their servants, and that they must never be allowed to escape from that subordinate position. Hence they are denied justice in the courts; they are killed with impunity; if charged with crime or frequently with some trifling offence they are lynched and often with hideous cruelty,

while no attempt is made to prosecute and punish the lynchers.

In most of the Southern States no adequate provision for their education is even attempted. They are denied the right to vote, they are driven to live in wretched houses and amid unsanitary conditions, and in large parts of the South they are regularly cheated and practically reduced to slavery.

This is a terrible indictment. Let me prove it by Southern witnesses.

Says the "Atlanta Constitution":

> We must be fair to the Negro. There is no use in beating about the bush. We have not shown this fairness in the past, nor are we showing it today, either in justice before the laws, in facilities afforded for education, or in other directions.

Some years ago a Mississippi lawyer addressing the Bar Association of that state said:

> A Negro accused of a crime during the days of slavery was dealt with more justly than he is today. . . . It is next to an impossibility to convict even upon the strongest evidence any white man of

a crime of violence upon the person of a Negro, . . . and the converse is equally true that it is next to an impossibility to acquit a Negro of any crime of violence, where a white man is concerned;

and well did he add:

We cannot either as individuals, as a country, as a state, or as a nation continue to mete out one kind of criminal justice to a poor man, a friendless man, or a man of a different race, and another kind of justice to a rich man, an influential man, or a man of our own race without reaping the consequences.

From the "Vicksburg Herald" come these words:

The Herald looks with no favor upon drafting Southern Negroes at all, believing they should be exempt *in toto* because they do not equally "share in the benefits of government." To say that they do is to take issue with the palpable truth. "Taxation without representation," the war-cry of the Revolutionary wrong against Great Britain, was not half so plain a wrong as requiring military service from a class that is denied suffrage and which lives under such discriminations of inferiority as the "Jim Crow" law and inferior school equipment and service.

If we ask what is done for education, the report of a careful investigation published by

the Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior is melancholy reading. It gives the facts as to the sixteen Southern States, the District of Columbia and Missouri, in which the population contains a considerable proportion of negroes, and states that in fifteen states and the District of Columbia "for which salaries by race could be obtained," the figures showed an expenditure of $10.32 for each white child and $2.89 for each colored child."

The results may be imagined, and we cannot be surprised at the testimony which the same report gives from competent witnesses. I quote:

> The supervisor of white elementary rural schools in one of the states recently wrote concerning the negro schools:
>
> I never visit one of these schools without feeling that we are wasting a large part of this money and are neglecting a great opportunity. The negro schoolhouses are miserable beyond all description. They are usually without comfort, equipment, proper lighting, or sanitation. Nearly all of the negroes of school age in the district are crowded into

these miserable structures during the short term which the school runs. Most of the teachers are absolutely untrained and have been given certificates by the county board, not because they have passed the examination, but because it is necessary to have some kind of a negro teacher. Among the negro rural schools which I have visited, I have found only one in which the highest class knew the multiplication table.

A state superintendent writes:

There has never been any serious attempts in this state to offer adequate educational facilities for the colored race. The average length of the term for the state is only four months; practically all of the schools are taught in dilapidated churches, which, of course, are not equipped with suitable desks, blackboards, and the other essentials of a school; practically all of the teachers are incompetent, possessing little or no education and having had no professional training whatever, except a few weeks obtained in the summer schools; the schools are generally overcrowded, some of them having as many as 100 students to the teacher; no attempt is made to do more than teach the children to read, write, and figure, and these subjects are learned very imperfectly.

This denial of education to so large a part of our population not only injures them. It

injures us all, as disease in one member infects the whole body. Ignorance brutalizes a people, and an ignorant and brutal element in society is a menace to the whole community. Unless the existing conditions are remedied the negroes will leave the South, and the result is well stated by the Southern University Race Commission in these words:

> The inadequate provision for the education of the negro is more than an injustice to him; it is an injury to the white man. The South cannot realize its destiny if one-third of its population is undeveloped and inefficient. For our common welfare we must strive to cure disease wherever we find it, strengthen whatever is weak, and develop all that is undeveloped. The initial steps for increasing the efficiency and usefulness of the negro race must necessarily be taken in the schoolroom.

The "Report on Negro Education" puts it more briefly thus:

> However much the white and black millions may differ, however serious may be the problems of sanitation and education developed by the negroes, the economic future of the South depends upon the adequate training of the black as well as the white workman of that section. The fertile soil, the mag-

nificent forests, the extensive mineral resources, and the unharnessed waterfalls are awaiting the trained mind and the skilled hand of both the white man and the black man.

There is no answer to the question which Carl Schurz put to the Southern States,

How can you expect to succeed in competition with neighboring communities if it is your policy to keep your laborers ignorant and degraded when it is their policy to educate and elevate theirs?

What is the evidence as to lynching? A gentleman writing to the "Manufacturers' Record" from a town in Georgia says:

There have been lynched something like 4000 men, women, and children since 1882. . . . There have not been fifteen convictions out of these thousands of lynchers.

I quote the following statement from Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Gailor, Episcopal Bishop of Tennessee, a Southern white man, who wrote in the "Nashville Banner":

I realize that it is futile to attempt by any written word to stem the tide of what seems to be the popular will; but a man can, at least, declare his abhorrence of such atrocities.

This kind of lynching seems to be becoming epidemic in our State. About two years ago a negro from Fayette County was lynched most barbarously near Memphis, and parts of his body, according to the newspapers, carried away as souvenirs. Many citizens of Memphis protested, but they were ignored. Last winter a negro man near Memphis was burned at the stake, gasoline was poured over his body, and his head was cut off and taken through the city streets as a trophy. Last fall a negro was burned to death in Dyersburg, and thousands of white people stood by and gloated over his agonies. And now, at Estill Springs, we have another burning, where the white men in charge first tortured the miserable creature with a red-hot iron, "to break his will," while the victim, already shot nearly to death, with one eye hanging out, screamed for mercy, and a thousand white men, with hundreds of women and children, looked on and were not ashamed.

The "Memphis News-Scimitar" describes the Dyersburg lynching which took place on Sunday morning in the public square of the county seat with a population of 7,500 people:

Not a domino hid a face, every one was unmasked. Leaders were designated and assigned their parts. Long before the mob reached the city the public square was choked with humanity. All

waited patiently. Women, with babies, made themselves comfortable.

At last the irons were hot.

A red streak shot out; a poker in a brawny hand was boring out one of the negro's eyes. The negro bore the ordeal with courage, only low moans escaping him. Another poker was working like an auger on the other orbit.

Swish. Once, twice, three times a red-hot iron dug gaping places in Lation Scott's back and sides.

"Fetch a hotter one," somebody said. The execution went on.

Women scarcely changed countenance as the negro's back was ironed with the hot brands. Even the executioners maintained their poise in the face of bloody creases left by the irons—irons which some housewife had been using.

Three and a half hours were required to complete the execution.

These details are revolting, and you may ask me why I harrow you by reciting them. Because unless the hideous horror of the disease is brought home to you, you will not rouse yourselves to find the remedy.

The latest reports as given by Dr. Moton, the president of Tuskegee, show that eighty-two lynchings occurred in 1919, eighteen

more than in the previous year. Seven of the victims were burned to death. Among the offences for which men were lynched were "alleged incendiary talk," "writing improper letters," "murder sentence changed to life imprisonment," "killing a man in self-defence," "remarks about Chicago race riot," "making boastful remarks," and the like. Less than a quarter were *charged* with rape or attempted rape.

Let me meet directly the assertion that lynching is necessary to protect the women of the South from attacks by negroes. What are the facts? We must first remember that during the Civil War the men of the South left their women and children in the care of the negroes whom they were fighting to hold as slaves. Had the negroes showed any wish to abuse their power the Southern armies would have disbanded, but during the whole four years not one negro betrayed the trust reposed in him by his master. The women of the South were safe while the negroes

raised the corn and pork which fed the Southern armies. As a Southern friend said to me, with tears in his eyes, "There never was a better race than the negroes!" Surely never in history has there been an instance where the oppressed so treated the oppressor. This record proves that the negroes are not a brutal and licentious people. The figures fully sustain the statement of Dr. Scroggs, of the Louisiana State University, who says:

> Not only is lynching no preventive of crimes against women, but statistics prove that only one time in four are such crimes the cause of lynching. In 1915 only sixteen per cent of the persons lynched were *charged* with crimes against womanhood.

I have emphasized the word "charged," for a charge is easily made and often falsely, as figures abundantly prove. In court the man who is charged is presumed to be innocent. To the mob the charge is proof of guilt.

In support of this statement let me give the following from Mr. James Weldon Johnson:

In the twenty years down to 1903 there were 1985 negroes lynched in the Southern States. Of that number rape was assigned as the cause in only 675 cases. In 1310 cases other causes were assigned.

In the past thirty years fifty negro women have been lynched. In the past twelve months five negro women have been lynched.

In the five-year period, 1914–1918, 264 negroes were lynched in the United States, exclusive of those killed at East St. Louis, and out of this number rape was assigned as the cause in only 28 cases.

Contrast these records, bad as they may appear, with the records for New York County, which is only a part of New York City, and we find that in this one county, in the single year of 1917, 230 persons were indicted for rape by the Grand Jury. Of this number 37 were indicted for rape in the first degree. That is, in just a part of New York City, the number of persons indicted for rape in the first degree was nine more than the total number of negroes lynched on the charge of rape in the entire United States during the period 1914-1918. Among these 37 persons indicted by the New York County Grand Jury there was not a single negro. The evidence required by the Grand Jury of New York County to indict a person charged with rape must be more conclusive than the evidence required by a mob to lynch a negro accused of rape.

When the Congressional Committee on Immigration in 1911 made its study of crime in the United

States, an investigation was made of 2262 cases in the New York Court of General Sessions and in that investigation it was found that the percentage for the crime of rape was lower for the negro than for either the foreign-born or native-born whites. The actual figures were, for foreign-born whites, 1.8; for native-born whites, .8; and for negroes, .5.

The women of New York are as much entitled to protection as the women of the South, but no man is lynched for rape in New York.

Such figures abundantly confirm the statement of Henry Watterson:

Lynching should not be misconstrued. It is not an effort to punish crime. It is a sport which has as its excuse the fact that a crime, of greater or less gravity, has been committed or is alleged. A lynching party rarely is made up of citizens indignant at the law's delays or failures. It often is made up of a mob bent upon diversion, and proceeding in a mood of rather frolicsome ferocity, to have a thoroughly good time. Lynchers are not persons who strive from day to day toward social betterment. Neither are they always drunken ruffians. Oftentimes they are ruffians wholly sober in so far as alcoholic indulgence is concerned, but highly stimulated by an opportunity to indulge in spectacular murder when

there is no fear that the next grand jury will return murder indictments against them.

The recent outbreak in Arkansas grew out of the "share-cropping" system thus described by a writer in the "Nation":

Theoretically, under the system the owner furnishes the land, the share-cropper the labor, and at the end of the year the crop is divided share and share alike. From the share-cropper's portion is deducted the amount received by him in supplies during the year, in most cases these supplies being "taken up" either at a plantation store or commissary, or from a merchant designated by the owner or his agent. In practice the system for the past fifty years has worked out in such manner that the crop, when gathered, is taken by the landowner and sold by him, and settlement is made with the share-cropper whenever and at whatever terms the landowner chooses to give. Instead of an itemized statement of the supplies received, in most cases only a statement of the total is given. Since there is an unwritten law which is rigidly observed that no negro can leave a plantation until his debt is paid, the owner, by padding the accounts of negroes to the point where the "balance due" always exceeds the value of the crop, can assure his labor supply for the following year.

Of this system, W. T. B. Williams says in a report of the United States Department of Labor on "Negro Migration in 1916-17," published in 1919: "Many of the negro tenants feel that it makes little difference what part of the crop is promised them, the white man gets it all anyway." Of the plan of many owners of taking all of the cotton seed, the "Charlotte Observer" says: "If, as it is represented, it is the custom of the farmers not to divide the cotton seed with the negro tenant, then a hitherto undiscussed cause of grievance is brought to light and reveals an injustice to the negro that no landowner can defend." An average bale of cotton weighs five hundred pounds, the price at this writing being about forty-three cents per pound. For every bale there is about one-half-ton seed, which brings between $68 and $70 per ton.

A white Southerner writing in the "Memphis Commercial Appeal" of January 26, 1919, frankly states:

"In certain parts of the South men who consider themselves men of honor and would exact a bloody expiation of one who should characterize them as common cheats do not hesitate to boast that they rob the negroes by purchasing their cotton at prices that are larcenous, by selling goods to them at extortionate figures and even by padding their accounts with a view of keeping them always in debt. Men of this stripe have been known to lament that in the last two years the negroes have

been so prosperous that it has not been possible to filch from them all they make.

"A protest from a negro against tactics of this kind is met with a threat of force. Justice at the hands of a white jury in sections where this practice obtains is inconceivable. Even an attempt to carry the matter into the courts is usually provocative of violence.

"While the conditions described are not universal, they are typical, especially in the delta regions where large plantations prevail. If they are to be remedied, we of the South must clear our minds of cant and realize that they do exist."

So far as the right to vote is concerned, no one questions that in the South this right is denied to the negroes with insignificant exceptions. This fact is not only admitted, but the exclusion has been justified for years. Yet while those who are responsible for this deny that the negroes are fit to vote, they insist none the less that they shall be counted as voters, with the result that the negroes swell the basis of representation while the whites cast their own votes and the votes of the negroes also. The Solid South is

the result and exists to maintain this situation. Let me give you some figures.

The Presidential election of 1916 stirred the country deeply, and we may take the vote cast then to illustrate my point. Louisiana, Kansas, and Mississippi are each entitled to eight representatives in Congress, and must have therefore nearly equal populations. Ignoring the votes of the small parties, the people of Kansas cast 592,246 votes, the people of Louisiana 86,341 votes, the people of Mississippi 84,675. More than half the people of the latter state are colored, and the proportion is nearly as large in Louisiana. South Carolina with seven representatives cast 63,396 votes; Arkansas with the same representation 160,296; while Connecticut with only five representatives cast 206,300. About 9000 votes elected a representative from South Carolina. A few more than 10,000 chose one in Louisiana and Mississippi, if all the votes were cast for the winning candidates, and as only 1550 Republi-

can votes were cast in South Carolina, 4253 in Mississippi, and 6466 in Louisiana, they do not seriously affect my point. In Kansas about 74,030 persons on an average voted for each representative, and the delegation was divided, three Republicans and five Democrats. Similar comparisons might be made between other states with like results.

This is a situation which cannot and must not last. The negro citizens of this country since 1865 have acquired property, education, and what goes with these, self-respect. They have achieved success in business and in all the professions; they have banks, insurance companies, factories of their own, and in large parts of the country they live side by side with their white neighbors enjoying the same rights in every respect. It is impossible to keep them down. This is their country as much as it is ours, their ancestors have lived here longer than the ancestors of very many white citizens, and they are entitled to their full share of all that the

country can give to its citizens. Until their rights are recognized and granted without reservation, they will not be content, and friction between them and those who would keep them down cannot fail to increase. They will not be silent, they will protest, and their resistance to injustice will grow with their growth. In the words of Garrison, "They will not retreat a single inch and they will be heard!"

Men say that their appeals for justice in their newspapers are the cause of the feeling between the races, and unless these are stopped the consequences will be disastrous. As well say that the groans of a sufferer are the cause of his pain. While he continues to suffer he will not cease to cry out, and you must cure the pain, not gag the patient. It would be a much worse sign if the negroes submitted to wrong without protest. They will be recognized as men while they act and speak as men. Give them justice and their complaints will cease. Continue to deny it

and they will continue to protest while there is breath in their bodies.

The situation which I am discussing is a striking illustration of the truth that the man who wrongs another sooner or later suffers the penalty.

When Abraham Lincoln was chosen, it was said that "For the first time the negro elected a President." The Reverend Dr. Jones of Atlanta expressed the same truth when he said in addressing the students of Hampton last May:

> You protest that you have not full political freedom in the South to-day. No, and neither have I. You answer that I have the ballot. Yes, but what is the worth of a ballot which can be counted before it is cast? What is the value of a vote which cannot be backed by freedom of political choice? . . . We said that we would shut the negro out of our political life, and yet, ever since, the shadow of your race has rested upon every political discussion, and you have in a real sense dominated every political election. The simple truth is that when we all became Democrats we did so at the cost of our democracy. . . . For wherever "Democrat," or "Republican" stands for sectional, racial, or class con-

sciousness, it is an evidence, not of political freedom, but of party despotism.

As I have said elsewhere, go South and ask men who have retired and are disinterested spectators, ask the men of affairs, ask the students of history, and if they answer fairly they will tell you that where there is only one party and no opposition in a free state, its government will not continue to be good; that where all great public questions are decided, not upon their merits, but according to a single prejudice, they cannot be decided wisely; and that where a whole community combines to perpetrate or tolerate injustice upon any class of citizens, or even upon a single man, no citizen's rights are safe, for every man's sense of justice is blunted, and he who rides to power on one prejudice to-day may be the victim of another prejudice to-morrow. The attempt to punish Dreyfus for a crime he did not commit, supported though it was by the highest officials and the strongest influences

in France, nearly overthrew the Republic. It is harder to wrong a race than a single man.

The government of the whole country suffers while millions of citizens are denied their rights, and for the sake of white and black alike, for the sake of generations still unborn, every citizen of this country should throw his whole weight against the prejudice of color. It is a cultivated, not a natural, feeling, a fact to which the millions whose blood is mixed bear silent witness. It is fashionable for the moment, and it is for us to set a better fashion, lest we find that as the nation could not live half free and half slave, so it cannot endure half just and half unjust.

How do you suppose such things affect our country's reputation with really civilized nations? You can answer this question for yourselves if you will remember your boyish feelings about the North American Indians, who never did anything more cruel than

these white Americans, or if you will imagine hearing that such things had been done in Turkey, or Russia, or by Germans in Belgium or Poland. We must end these horrors at home before we can attack others abroad.

If the effect on the country's good name is bad, what think you is the effect on ourselves? What education are the children getting whose mothers take them to witness such barbarities, and whose fathers hold them up that their view may be uninterrupted? These children will govern this country in a few years, and how will they govern it? A community so brutalized as those communities must be where men are thus tortured is a bad neighbor. We do not let our little children torture animals, for we know that the practice of cruelty depraves those who are guilty of it. Why are we silent when whole communities are thus degraded? If they were threatened with the destruction of property by conflagration or flood, we should rush to help them. Bar-

barism is a worse foe than flood or fire. When, however, Dyersburg stains our good name only a few voices of little authority are raised in protest, and no attempt is made to punish the criminals. College festivals come and go, but what college president, what orator at Commencement, takes the evil of lynching as his subject? The universal silence disgraces us more than the acts themselves. The lynchers are ruffians and act as such, but the silent statesmen, clergymen, and scholars are the best men in the country. Let us hope that the new generation will feel its obligations to the country more keenly.

In the words of Emerson:

> If the black man carries in his bosom an indispensable element of a new and coming civilization, for the sake of that element no wealth, nor power, nor circumstance can hurt him; he will survive and play his part. If you have man, black or white is an insignificance. The intellect, that is miraculous; who has it has the talisman. His skin and bones, though they be black as midnight, are transparent and the stars shine through with attractive beams.

I would commend to you the statement of an eminent Southerner, Henry W. Grady.

> The problem of the South is to carry on within her body politic two separate races, equal in civil and political rights, and nearly equal in numbers. She must carry these races in peace, for discord means ruin. She must carry them separately, for assimilation means debasement. She must carry them in equal justice, for to this she is pledged in honour and in gratitude. She must carry them even unto the end, for in human probability she will never be quit of either.

This prejudice of color is not the only racial or class prejudice which threatens our peace. Our attitude toward the Chinese, Japanese, and, indeed, all Asiatics, I shall deal with when I come to discuss our foreign policy. The dangers which are likely to spring from the tendency of organized labor to disregard the interests of the whole community will be reserved for another lecture. These subjects cannot be dealt with in passing.

The fact which we should keep constantly in mind is that we are not a homogeneous

people. We have rejoiced to think with Mr. Lowell that this country has "room about her hearth for all mankind." We have been delighted to believe that we offer a refuge for the oppressed of all lands. All over Europe are men who regard the United States as Mr. Rihbany, the Syrian minister of a leading Unitarian church in Boston, tells us he was taught to regard it:

> Its people were rich and religious and little else. Every one of its citizens told the truth and nothing but the truth. . . . America had neither fleet nor armies . . . a land of free schools, free churches, and a multitude of other organizations which worked for human betterment.

Immigrants from every nation under the sun have been welcomed to our shores and given in very few years all the rights of native-born Americans. They have built our railroads, settled our territories, turned our wild lands into fertile farms, and in every way speeded our growth. Such a country should have no use for words like "Dago," "Mick,"

"Dutchy," "Nigger," "Wop," "Sheeny," and the other contemptuous phrases with which our people express their regard for the foreigners who claim our hospitality. It is vital to our continued safe and prosperous existence that our people should be welded together so that they may become really American in thought and purpose as well as in right. The task of "Americanizing" our citizens of foreign birth or descent calls for active work on the part of us all. As a people we are jealous of our rights as individuals, but not too mindful of our obligations to others, and we need to have the Golden Rule constantly in mind.

We need to cultivate mutual good-will among the different elements in our population, so that we may all work heartily together. In the past years we have talked much of our hospitality to foreigners, but our acts have not borne out our words. If the men of Irish descent in this country form a faction devoted to Irish interests and work-

ing to secure place and power for Irishmen, it is our fault. When they began to cross the ocean, notwithstanding all their charming qualities, they were received and treated as inferiors. They were poor, and because they were poor were ignorant. Their poverty drove them to live in cheap neighborhoods. They were naturally clannish and their neighborhoods became inevitably more or less dirty and squalid, for their children were numerous. They were rather inclined to foster discord as a result of convivial excess. They were born with love for a fight, and, above all, as Catholics they encountered the strong religious prejudice which still remained as the aftermath of religious persecution and war in Europe. The ruins of the Ursuline Convent near Boston, which was burned by a mob, were allowed to stand for years as a mute witness against such intolerance. The Irish immigrants found our people individually kind, but collectively somewhat hostile. When they sought work

they found too often in advertisements for workers of all sorts the words, "No Irish need apply." The so-called "American" or "Know-Nothing" Party was formed to prevent their gaining political power, and the inevitable result was to drive them back upon themselves, to make them a coherent body, defending each other and working for each other.

They have won their fight; they have secured honors, place, and power. They have served this country well in many ways, they have shown remarkable ability in practical politics and great gallantry in war, but their political ideals have not been high, and as a result the governments which they have controlled have not been conspicuous for honesty or efficiency. We have paid and are paying in various ways for having driven the Irish to remain Irish instead of mingling with us as Americans. Our sins have found us out.

The Germans who came here were more

warmly received. They did not, like the Irish, settle in the Atlantic cities, but went West and opened up new states. The Irish were a compact body living near the centre of population. The Germans were more scattered, and dwelt in the West on what were then the outskirts of our people. They were quiet, industrious, and, above all, were largely if not mostly Protestants. Their leaders, like Carl Schurz, had high political ideals, and threw themselves into our political conflicts as Americans, not as Germans trying to get some advantage for Germans. The Irish never joined the anti-slavery movement, but allied themselves with the Democratic Party, while many of the Germans were vigorous abolitionists.

From these two nations came the bulk of our immigrants, and until within comparatively a few years the other newcomers were of such varied strains that their accession to our population was hardly noticed, and since the Germans as a rule joined the Republican

Party while the Irish acted with the Democrats, there was no especial sympathy between them, and the fear that our citizens of foreign descent were in any way a menace to our institutions never troubled us. We felt that our country was giving them a wonderful opportunity, and we expected from them unbounded gratitude.

We require all foreigners who desire to become American citizens to abjure allegiance to their native country, and to swear allegiance to ours. It is a formal act easily performed, but it really means very little. It is impossible to eradicate the natural love for a man's own home, the sympathy with his kindred and his countrymen inherited from his parents and fostered by all the surroundings of his early years. A curious example of this is given by Carl Schurz, as loyal an American as ever lived, who after the German revolution of 1848 came to this country, and lived here from 1852 till he died. He wrote his "Reminiscences" some

fifty years or more later, when he had become a master of English and one of the most brilliant orators that America has known, but when he came to write about his early life in Germany he found that he must write in German, for that was the language in which he had thought and talked as a boy and with which all his life in Germany had been lived. His German story of this period was translated into English by a friend and as translated forms the first part of his book.

But while we cannot expect our naturalized citizens to forget their friends, and their country, we have the right to insist that their acts shall be American, and that they shall not use this country as a base for operations which involve an interference in the affairs of another country. In dealing with foreign nations the interest of the United States, its rights, and its obligations are alone to be considered, and the country must act as a whole through its own government.

The policy of this country in this respect

was stated in perhaps the most critical period in our national existence. During the Civil War, when the Southern States were trying to establish their independence, there was reason to believe that England and France, goaded to action by the intense suffering which the lack of cotton caused in the manufacturing districts of both countries, might interfere to prevent the continuance of the war, an interference which would probably have resulted in the victory of the Southern Confederacy. It was at the very crisis of the Cotton Famine that the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, wrote to our Minister in London, Mr. Adams:

> If the British Government shall in any way approach you directly or indirectly with propositions which assume or contemplate an appeal to the President on the subject of our internal affairs, whether it seem to imply a purpose to dictate or to mediate or to advise, or even to solicit or persuade, you will answer that you are forbidden to debate, to hear, or in any way receive, entertain, or transmit any communication of the kind. . . .

If you are asked an opinion what reception the President would give to such a proposition if made here, you will reply that you are not instructed, but you have no reason for supposing that it would be entertained.

This was said with a full appreciation of the momentous consequences which might follow.

It is not difficult to imagine what our attitude would be if the British Parliament were to pass resolutions favoring the independence of the Philippines, or denouncing our protectorate over Cuba, or our course in Hayti and Santo Domingo. The policy announced by Mr. Seward would not be varied and the popular indignation would be expressed freely. Yet now there is travelling in this country a person who styles himself the President of the Irish Republic, who is trying to collect millions of money from sympathizers with Irish independence for purposes not disclosed, and in various places he is received as if he were indeed what he

claims to be. In America only is he recognized as holding any official position.

In a memorial to the Senate of the United States, signed by numerous Irishmen who sympathize with this self-exiled ruler, this statement is made:

> Through long centuries of oppression Ireland has maintained her national spirit largely because she has always hitherto been able to cherish a hope that she might receive from some well-disposed foreign power the assistance which would insure her independence. She looked to Spain for this aid at the close of the sixteenth century; to France in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. She looks for it now in the twentieth century to America, and we confidently hope and pray that the Senate will not allow that light of hope to be extinguished.

Spain gave her the Spanish Armada. Do we wish it had not been destroyed, and do we really think that Ireland would have been freer under Spanish rule than as a part of the English Empire, having more votes in Parliament than any other equal number of men in the British Islands?

At the hearing where this memorial was presented its first signer said in a carefully prepared speech: "England cannot continue to control the world unless she controls the sea, and her continued control of the sea is dependent on her continued control of Ireland."

Without discussing the question whether England controls the world, it is important to note that these Irishmen realize that control of Ireland is vital to England, and yet tell us that they expect from us the assistance which will end that control. They oppose the ratification of the Peace Treaty now, not in the interest of the United States, but in the interest of Ireland. They are entirely willing, if not anxious, to create a feeling in this country against Great Britain which, for the sake of giving 4,000,000 people in Ireland a form of government which probably a majority and certainly a large minority do not desire, would involve hundreds of millions in war which could only

put civilization back for at least a century, and substitute German tyranny for Anglo-Saxon liberty. The men who advocate this are not considering the interests of this country, and should be made to realize that if they are Americans their course is not patriotic, and if they are Irishmen they should fight her battles at home, and not seek shelter for their hostile operations under the American flag.

In like manner, during the recent war the Germans in this country proved to be more German than American. We know much of their plots against their fellow-citizens resulting in explosions and conflagrations which destroyed much property, and we suspect much more, though perhaps our suspicions have been exaggerated. This, however, is clear. The German-Americans could have expressed to the German people their horror of the crimes and hideous brutalities which the rulers of Germany ordered and their subjects committed. They could have shown

that some Germans did not approve the deportation of girls, the slaughter of non-combatants, the deliberate devastation of France. They could have said with Otto Kahn: "We will not permit the blood in our veins to drown the conscience in our breast. We will heed the call of honor beyond the call of race!" They could by open speech have proved "that the taint of Germany is not in the blood, but in the system of rulership." They held their peace and did it deliberately, as I learned in conversation with a native American of German descent.

These Germans are now in this country, many of them embittered against us by the defeat of their Fatherland. They feel that any combination between America and the European Allies is hostile to Germany, and as the Irish-Americans would keep us apart for what they think the interest of Ireland, the German-Americans join hands with them in aid of Germany, and instead of being opponents these powerful bodies of voters are allied against this country's interest.

No American needs to qualify his loyalty to this country by any foreign prefix. Hyphenated Americans are not Americans, but contain only a percentage of Americanism. Their activities in the interest of other countries should be frowned upon by us all, for they are to-day a greater menace to our peace than the radicals whom we ignorantly call Reds, and whose influence in our affairs we are very much inclined to exaggerate. If we ever are driven into war it will be by pressure from within, not by attacks from without, and this pressure will come from compact organizations of citizens, not from casual agitators. Against this pressure every American citizen who loves his country should ever be on guard.

The remedy against the dangers which these combinations threaten is to be found in breaking them up, not by oppressive laws or external force, but by teaching them to forget ancient wrongs and unite in an effort to make a better world to-day. We must not

let these citizens remain as separate factions with distinct interests united to each other and against the rest of us by any tie of blood. We must persuade them to become members of our family, make them see the importance of those interests which are common to us all, and by persuading them to unite with us in common activities gradually build up an un-hyphenated people.

During the late war when efforts were making to raise money for the Government by selling Liberty bonds, the different nationalities in many places came together and through committees containing representatives of each carried on the work in harmony. The members of these committees found themselves closely associated with men and women of perhaps twenty different peoples, and were surprised to realize as never before that all the nations on earth are really of one blood. They learned how many people of each race were dwelling in their city, and were astonished to find what man-

ner of people they were, how intelligent, how anxious to help, how well-educated, how good in every way. They made friendships with people formerly strangers, which were the prelude to more intimate relations, and they found also how glad these foreign citizens were to be called upon for aid, and how anxious to meet their neighbors on a common ground. They discovered how isolated these strangers had felt, how they regretted the coldness of those into whose neighborhood they moved, and who never called upon them or made any attempt to establish social relations with them. The intercourse thus begun was good for all who became associated in this way, and it also brought to light the pressing need of more kindly action by individuals toward making our new citizens feel that they are not strangers in a strange land, but that America is their home.

This has led in some places to the formation of cosmopolitan clubs, social organizations formed to bring the various groups of

citizens closer together, to promote friendship and stimulate activity for our national ends. Movements like this point the way, and those who are anxious to help in solving the problems which arise from our varied citizenship cannot do better than promote efforts to get at our immigrants, learn their needs and their views, make friends with them and help them. The more it is done the easier and the more interesting the work will be, and the reward will be ample, for a very little kindliness receives a ready response, and a more enduring gratitude than one expects. An article by Margaret Madden in the "Catholic Charities Review" states the case so well that I quote a passage:

> We need to remind ourselves that each nation which has contributed to the growth of America has given something of value, that it is our duty to know what those values are so that we may see in the humble immigrants something more than a herd of strange-looking people, wearing strange clothes, eating strange foods, and following strange customs. We must see them as potential Americans looking forward to this country as a land of oppor-

tunity. We must enter into a sympathetic understanding of their abilities, of their limitations, their difficulties, their low standard of living, their natural tendency to congregate with people of their own tongue—all of these things we must be able to understand and to estimate in terms of *relative importance*. If we cannot do this, let us not attempt to Americanize them. We had better let the task alone. For any plan of Americanization which attempts, in a spirit of aloofness, to hand out and deliver Americanism to the foreign-born group is a failure before it begins. If we keep before us our ideal of democracy—the essential of which is participation—we will realize that the foreign-born must Americanize themselves.

If we will only recognize our common humanity, abandon our contemptuous phrases and our irritating stories at each other's expense, cease to doubt the good faith of our neighbors and not give vent to every hasty suspicion which arises in our minds; in short, if we would treat our fellow-citizens as ladies and gentlemen should treat each other, class and racial prejudice will begin to disappear, and our melting-pot will better fuse the varying elements which it receives, and in the end turn out a purer metal.

THE LABOR QUESTION

AMONG the grave problems which confront America to-day is that presented by the feeling which finds expression under various names, the feeling that the goods of this world are distributed unequally, that the rich oppress the poor, and that the powers of government are used to aid this oppression and perpetuate the inequality between classes.

In different parts of the world different methods of changing this situation are proposed. In Russia the Bolshevists would apply the remedy of wholesale destruction, hoping that out of the resulting chaos a new civilization may be developed and adopting the well-known method of the physician who would always throw his patient into fits because of his skill in dealing with that disorder. This purpose is avowed with absolute frankness. In his proclamation calling the

Congress of the Communist International, Lenin thus states it:

The present is the period of destruction and crushing of the capitalistic system of the whole world.

The aim of the proletariat must now be immediately to conquer power. To conquer power means to destroy the governmental apparatus of the bourgeois and to organize a new proletarian governmental apparatus.

The new apparatus of the Government must express the dictatorship of the working class.

As we go West this extreme doctrine is gradually modified, and becomes socialism of different types until, in the western countries of Europe, in England, and in the United States, we find the I. W. W. adopting a platform which contains the following demands:

All land should be taken over by the State either directly or by confiscating taxation; the adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall, including the recall of judges; the abolition of the United States Senate and the veto power of the President; the abolition of all Federal courts except the United States Supreme Court, which is to be shorn of its

power to declare a law unconstitutional, and the election of all judges for short terms, all of which [to quote the platform] are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

The United Mine Workers insist that labor is entitled to the full value of whatever it produces, and that the employer is entitled "to no compensation for the money he has invested." The Plumb bill, proposing that the Government own the railroads and in substance let them be managed by the employees, and the demands of the labor unions for a greater voice in the management of industrial enterprises are steps in the same movement to equalize the conditions of men, which is a perfectly natural and laudable desire.

These reformers—Bolsheviki, socialists, leaders of labor, or pure idealists—have no difficulty in framing their indictment of existing conditions. The lots of men are most

unequal, the good things of the world are distributed unevenly, labor is often underpaid, capitalists are often greedy and selfish, legislators and administrators are often corrupt, the weak are trampled on by the strong—in a word, the world is very unsatisfactory. I would not minimize these things in the least. The contrast is heart-breaking between the comfort in which many of us live and the lot of the poor workman struggling to support his wife and children in sordid surroundings with the fear of sickness and disabling age always before him, while his wife is bearing and rearing children in conditions which would seem to us impossible. It is so easy to point out the evils which society tolerates that many agitators devote themselves to this work and thereby gain credit with the unthinking. The only important question is how to cure these evils, and in current discussion that is little considered.

Let us begin, therefore, by admitting that all the charges are true. Let us say to our

fellow-men that, no matter how black they paint the picture, we shall not dispute its substantial accuracy. Let us admit that there is now no duty so clear as the duty of finding a way out of the situation, a duty which rests upon every man, and which must not be postponed or shirked; and having cleared the ground by these admissions, let us proceed to consider how this duty shall be done.

The first thing to remember is that we are dealing with men, having certain passions, tastes, and desires, governed by certain motives, and on the other hand, influenced by certain ideals and capable of great sacrifices. Such as we know them they always have been and we cannot change them. The situation which the agitators of to-day wish to reform has existed at every period of recorded history. There never has been a country or a time in which men have not been divided into classes, and except for brief intervals of revolution in which there have

not been established governments maintaining order and protecting the lives and property of peaceful citizens against lawless violence.

Four hundred and ninety-three years before Christ occurred the general strike, when the plebeians of Rome retired to Mons Sacer, and Menenius Agrippa persuaded them to return by his fable of the belly and the members, a tale of the time when the members revolted against the inert, luxury-loving belly, which they carried about, fed, and kept in idleness while they labored hard for its benefit, but without which they could not exist for a moment. It is a familiar story, but the lesson which it taught must be heeded to-day as it was centuries ago. We may well also take to heart the other lesson which Menenius teaches that it is by wise argument and not by repressive violence that we can best deal with our fellowmen.

Man's limitations have made the world in

which we live, and those limitations are the bars of a cage from which we cannot escape. The world offers opportunities for sport and pleasure of every kind which tempt us all, and work has been disliked by unregenerate man ever since Adam heard the sentence which he had brought upon himself: "Cursed is the ground for thy sake: in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. . . . In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Yet unless it works, the human race cannot survive. No man can imagine a workless world inhabited by a race given up to idleness and pleasure.

It takes some strong inducement to make us all do what we dislike, and that motive is found either in the hope of getting something that we desire or avoiding something that we fear. The hope of winning the things which will make life easier and pleasanter for ourselves and those we love, or the fear that we and ours may suffer from cold, hunger and disease, these are the underlying

motives which drive us to work, and we must be careful that in any reform we adopt these motives are left in full force. Every one must feel that unless he does his share of the world's work he cannot have his share of what the world gives. We must not make the idle comfortable at the expense of the industrious. As the farmer does not reap unless he sows and cultivates, so men must realize that as a rule each gets out of the world what he puts into it, no more and no less.

In order that the motives which induce us to work may be left in full force, men must be allowed to acquire property. They work to make themselves, their wives, their parents, and their children comfortable, to provide against any calamity which will leave the old to depend on charity, and the young helpless and uneducated. Ingrained in man is the desire to provide for a rainy day. If society were so constituted that every one was supported at public expense and the

fruits of each man's labor went into the public treasury, a premium would be offered on idleness and the "tramps" of the world would receive very dangerous re-enforcement. To make them work some system of punishment would be needed to take the place of deprivations which to-day punish the idle. It may well be doubted whether any penalties which the law could provide would be found as effectual as the present penalty—the pain of starvation.

It is true that under this system some men will acquire great wealth, and that their children will perhaps become mere idle wasters, apparently doing nothing to benefit the community and setting a bad example to other men. This may and often does happen, for it is always true that any power may be abused, and anything in itself good may be wasted or misused. The remedy is not to take away the power, but to control the abuse.

This evil generally corrects itself, for, as

the saying is, "It is only three generations from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves." Nor is extravagant expenditure a necessary evil. All the money that is invested in securities helps the world. It builds factories and supplies the means of carrying on their operations, thus furnishing employment to many. If invested in the bonds of nation, state, or city it builds roads, waterworks, supports hospitals and asylums, feeds our armies in time of war, and is all used in some way for what is believed to be a useful end. If it is deposited in banks, it does not stay in the vaults, but is lent and used to carry on the world's work. No money can be invested or spent without doing some good, and as an illustration of this truth let me take the case of such an expensive luxury as lace, which is a mere ornament, and the purchase of which might well be regarded by the critic as wasteful extravagance. Let him go to the villages of Italy, Holland, and Belgium and see the women in

humble circumstances who make their living by lace-making, and he will learn that if their market were cut off very general misery would result in considerable communities, that what seems extravagance in the buyer is life to the maker, and that the result is merely a distribution of wealth. Expenditure for balls and parties of every kind supports dressmakers, milliners, waiters, and the producers everywhere who supply the dainties which are consumed. It is only money which is not spent, but buried in the ground or hidden in stockings, that is useless.

As we turn to the Bible again and again for the lessons taught by human experience, it is not singular that in the parable of the talents we find this truth stated. The servant who received from his lord five talents "went and traded with them and made them other five talents." To him his lord said: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant. Thou hast been faithful over a few things, I

will make thee ruler over many things." The servant who received one talent, and who hid it in the earth, was denounced as a "wicked and slothful servant," and sentenced to be cast "into outer darkness where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."

The great fortunes of the day are not to all appearance dangerous, but used as Mr. Carnegie, Mr. Rockefeller, and Mr. Frick have used them in aid of education, peace, and public health, they are of incalculable public benefit. Happily the rich men of America, like the Medici of Florence, feel their obligation to the community, and wherever we go, whether in great cities or in little towns, we find a public library, a college, a hospital, or some public institution which was founded by some rich man. The Johns Hopkins University and Hospital, the Public Library of New York, and all our great universities are monuments of such generosity.

But it is said that if all wealth were held

by the public, the public could create such institutions. The public taste and the public benevolence cannot be trusted. The education which wealth and leisure give is needed both in selecting the objects and adapting the means in such cases. The Medici enriched Florence with monuments of architecture, painting, and sculpture which have been the wonder of the world. The public wealth of the United States has given us the statue of Lincoln by Vinnie Reams, the works of art which adorn the Capitol at Washington, including the horrors in the old Representatives Chamber, and the many monstrosities which are scattered over our country. The history of the Capitols at Albany and Harrisburg, or of the City Hall in Philadelphia, show how little the agents of the public can be trusted to spend the public money.

The contrast is instructive. When wealth is controlled and guided by public spirit, the community gains by it. The wise use of

riches can be encouraged by public appreciation and gratitude till it becomes almost imperative. The rich man will feel the force of example and learn to use and not to hoard. Excessive accumulation can be controlled by taxes and otherwise, but whatever laws are adopted, the motives which lead men to work must be left to operate unimpaired, and of these the most universally recognized is the wish to acquire property.

The hardest work is done for other objects, to win fame or power, to make some great scientific discovery which will help mankind, to write some book which will educate the world, for many objects which will bring neither wealth nor fame; but though this is true the hope of gain and the fear of poverty are what keep mankind at work, and any system which takes from men the rewards of industry and thrift can never endure.

The equal distribution of property and the abolition of the differences between men

at which socialism aims are impossible because it is impossible to change human nature. What has been ever since men were is what will be, and the differences which are born in them are ineradicable. Some will be rich, some will be poor, some well, others sick, some wise, their neighbors foolish, while the world lasts, and each man's natural endowment will determine what his life will be as surely as apples come from apple-trees and pine cones from pines.

Though the world cannot be remodelled on the Bolshevist plan, this is not to say that it cannot be improved, but there are certain conditions which reformers are apt not to recognize. One is that workers can only be paid out of what work produces. There is a moral as well as an economic side to this proposition. The rules of the labor unions, which forbid a workman to do all he can in a given time and establish a low standard of performance to which all must conform, which require the painter to use a three-inch

brush, or the bricklayer to lay a small number of bricks, as well as the practice of loafing during working hours, are open to various objections. They reduce production, they discourage good work, and they are essentially dishonest. Whatever the wages agreed upon, the workman expects honest dollars in payment. He would consider his employer dishonest if he were paid in Canadian bills worth only ninety cents each. For honest dollars he should give honest hours of work, and when he tries by slack work to prolong his job he is stealing just as clearly as if he took money from his employer's pocket. The first essential of good relations between employer and employed is honesty on both sides—what Mr. Roosevelt taught us to call "the square deal."

Strikes also diminish production, and while they cost the employer his profits while they last, and perhaps more in depreciation of material and other ways, they cost the strikers their whole wage. What they

might have produced during the strike is so much taken from the fund for the payment of wages, and it is as impossible to recover the loss as to call back the hours which have been spent in idleness. If the workman were to take a slate and pencil, figure up the loss, and then compare it with the gain from any increased wage, he would be amazed to find how little if anything he had gained by the most successful strike.

Moreover, the workman like us all, is vitally interested in having a good and steady market for his work, and strikes destroy that market. For example, every man before building a house or factory wishes to know what it will cost and when he can count on having it. If he is liable to have this cost increased at any moment and the time of completion postponed from time to time by strikes, he will not build, and the men whom he would have employed must go idle. Once it is generally understood that mechanics cannot be trusted to keep their

agreements, and are always liable to stop work at the order of some walking delegate, men cease to build and the market for workmen is depressed. The law of supply and demand is inexorable, and when the demand falls wages fall too, depressed by the oversupply of men.

By such practices conditions are reversed. The employer does not oppress the workman, but the workman oppresses the employer. Once enlisted in an enterprise the employer must finish it or lose his investment, and the workman uses this advantage. He gets a golden egg, but he kills the goose, for the victimized employer will not court disaster again. Unless both sides to the contract of labor live up to their agreement honestly, the whole community suffers, and in the long run the dishonest man pays much more than he gets. No class in society can prosper which cannot be depended on to keep its word.

Moreover, there is much confusion of

thought about the right to strike. If a man is employed by the day he has the right to leave his employment at the end of any day. If, however, he has agreed to work for a definite time upon terms fixed by the contract, he has no right to leave till the time has expired. If he does he is liable for damages. The workman in this respect has the same rights and liabilities as every other citizen. His contract binds him as it binds every one.

It is impracticable to make a man work against his will by any law or decree of court, and so the workman has the power, but not the right, to break his contract and take his chance of a lawsuit. He has no right to his job unless he keeps his agreement. If he breaks it he cannot insist that the employer owes him any duty. If the employer can find another man to take the striker's place he has a perfect right to do so, and the new man has a right to work. This right the striker is bound to respect, and all attempts to interfere with it are illegal. The

leaders of labor talk of their constitutional right to strike. The Constitution gives them no such right, but every man has the constitutional right to sell his labor on such terms as he and his employer agree upon, except so far as for public reasons that right is limited, and this right must be respected and secured. The strikers feel at liberty to attack the laborers who succeed them, and almost every strike has its concomitants of violent attacks on persons or property. The labor unions must understand that they are bound to respect the Constitution which they invoke, and that their action in using violence in aid of strikes is not only not protected by any constitution, but is criminal and to be punished as such.

The law recognizes no privileged class and is the same for employer and employee, for striker and "scab"; and one of the first steps toward the establishment of proper relations between workmen and their employers is the recognition of this fact. The unionized

workmen must realize that they are citizens like the rest of us, and as such bound to obey the law.

There is another law which cannot be ignored, the law that in this world a man must pay for what he gets. Nobody can be expected to furnish anything to another for less than cost. "Fair exchange is no robbery," but any unfair exchange is akin to theft. For this reason the constant rise in wages does not help the workmen. When the wages in one industry are raised, a standard is established to which all others must come. You cannot pay farm hands less than city laborers or workmen in factories for any length of time. The rise in wages means an increase in all expenses, public and private. It means an increase in the price of food and clothes, in railroad rates, in street-car fares, in rents, and every other thing which enters into the cost of living. The increases do not occur all at once, but in succession, and for the moment one class is

ahead, the next another, but in the long run the increase is evened up and no one gets any permanent advantage. It is as Mr. Jewell, a leader in the Federation of Labor, has put it, "a movement in a vicious circle."

But it has another unhappy consequence, thus stated by George N. Watson, also enlisted on the side of labor, who recently, after saying that labor is taxed for each increase in wages through higher prices for what it buys, continued as follows:

> This unfortunate result, while demonstrating the folly of wage-boosting, concerns only ourselves; what is inviting, even bringing disaster, is the fact that the unorganized salary-workers are also taxed for these wage increases, without any benefit to themselves other than an excuse for feebly crying, "Me, too." Now, if these workers were few, this effect would, of course, be negligible, but they are greatly in the majority. Remember that President Gompers, in his great defence of organized labor at the Industrial Conference, claimed only 23,000,000 supporters out of a population of over one hundred million.
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> But, if these many millions of salaried workers cannot keep up with organized labor, they can re-

tard its progress. And this they are now doing very effectively. Why? Because they are united in the conviction that they are now being exploited by organized labor as well as by organized capital; and they can trip us up much more easily than they can block the profiteers. Everywhere there is evidence that what was sympathy with the movement is now bitter antagonism. . . . What is the lesson for organized labor in this unexpected opposition? It is simply the realization that the unorganized salary-workers are the deciding factor in the important struggles between organized labor and the employers; and that our policy is turning them against us.

His conclusion is that the thing for organized labor to do is to discourage strikes and "wage-boosting," and to "get strenuously to work."

This is wise advice. If instead of reducing production by wasting time the workers of this country would turn to and produce more things, there would be more money to be divided, a larger supply of all needful things so that prices would fall, and the workman could save more money.

Taking then, as the conditions of our

problem, man as he is, honest dealing and respect for contracts by all parties, due respect for the legal rights of each other, and the rule that nothing can long be had for less than cost, what can we do to help the laboring people of the world?

The first thing is a better understanding of the facts, which can be reached only by temperate and fair discussion. I would suggest in the first place abandoning the words "capital" and "labor" to designate the opposing sides in labor disputes. Capital thus used means to the unthinking excessive wealth, working for itself and trying, no matter how, to exploit the laborer, while labor is the honest, hard-working man kept in poverty by its machinations. The accurate words would be "employer" and "employee" —both capitalists and both laborers, the former often working far harder and longer than the latter. We must make them both realize that there is no necessary antagonism between them, but that each is indispensable

to the other, and that there should be unbroken harmony between them if the work of the world is to be done well.

We may well begin by making them understand what capital means—that the tools of the mechanic, the library and desk of the lawyer, the instruments of the doctor, nay, the clothes which they wear, the coal in their bins, the food in their cellar, are all capital, as was the oil in the lamps of the wise virgins. When the United Mine Workers declare that the whole product of the mine belongs to the miners, and that those who contributed the capital for its development should receive nothing, we should invite them to consider what that means.

Let them imagine a thousand laborers standing on the bare hillside beneath which lies a mine and told that they may have all that they can get out of it without capital. They see before them the necessity of sinking shafts for thousands of feet, of running levels to reach the ore, of providing timber

to keep shafts and levels from falling in, pumping machinery to keep the mine dry, hoisting engines and all the complicated machinery needed to take out earth and raise the ore to the mouth of the shaft, and for many other purposes too numerous to mention. They would naturally say, "We must have some shovels to start with." But what are shovels? To furnish them some workman must have dug the iron ore from the mine, some workman must have made it into steel, some workman must have fashioned the steel into the shovel's blade, some workman must have cut the trees and made the handle. These facts are obvious. Are these workmen not to be paid? If the shovels are to reach the site of the mine some men must help transport them. Are they to go without compensation? Is it not a convenient way of paying them all to let a third man buy the shovels and bring them to the miners who need them, and will any man do this unless he is paid for his outlay and his

trouble? The same questions could be asked of everything needed to develop the mine, and the miners must see that they, like all others, must pay for what they get.

There may be no mine under the ground. Are the miners prepared to take this risk? Is there any better way of meeting these difficulties than by letting men, who are willing to provide the things needed to open the mine and to take the risk of finding nothing, receive as compensation for their contribution some shares in the mine which will be entitled to a part of the profits? Is this any more than giving them what belongs to them?

Again the miners must see that while they are opening the mine, during the months—perhaps years—before they reach paying ore, they will need food and clothes, but these are capital. Will they also feed and clothe themselves before the mine begins to pay, and take their compensation in shares of the mine? Clearly they cannot. They must

have wages to live on, for without it no shopkeeper would trust them. His supplies are capital, and carried for their use only because he has money with which to buy them. He could not feed them for years without pay, for he would be wasting his substance. The miners must see, if they will think, that the riches of Golconda locked up in a mine would be beyond their reach unless they had the aid of capital, and that its aid cannot be had for nothing.

The same reasoning applies to every factory, to every railroad, and in short substantially to every employment. Capital is not the employer; it is only the tool which both employer and employee use, and without which industry must fail. It is the food on which every industrial enterprise lives.

The wage-earner puts his savings into a savings bank. He provides against disaster by a life insurance policy. When he denies income to the capital invested in railroads, mills, and other industrial enterprises, he

strikes at himself, for the savings banks and life insurance companies have invested his money in the stocks and bonds of railroads and mills, and when these suffer their depositors and policy-holders suffer. The railroads need money to build bridges, to keep their roads in order, to provide new rolling stock, and new safety appliances. If they earn nothing they cannot borrow and must stop, inflicting at once incalculable injury on the whole community, and taking from their employees the means of livelihood.

If the State takes the railroads, it only shifts the burden and the public pays the cost of operating them in the form of steadily mounting taxes. In this world one gets nothing for nothing.

The labor leaders talk about the tyranny of capital. To-day they are the tyrants, and in a free country no tyranny can endure. Labor now feels itself a privileged class, and recognizes no obligation to the community. Yet a citizen who is running a loom has no

rights to which his neighbor who keeps a shop is not equally entitled. What would be the effect if he followed the workman's example? Let us suppose a railroad strike which brings a great state to the brink of starvation and stops the wheels of all its factories, and that the butchers, bakers, and grocers say, "We must keep our food for ourselves and our friends who are suffering from the strike and we will sell nothing to men who refuse to work." Would not the railroad men feel themselves badly treated? Yet butchers have as good a right to strike as engineers,—the men who suffer privation as the men who cause it.

Suppose, following the example of carpenters and others who work only five days in the week, the doctors refused to do any work from Friday at five o'clock till Monday morning. A young friend of mine last winter had a large window blown in on a cold Friday evening, making her whole house dangerous to her young children and most

uncomfortable. She asked the carpenter to come and repair it, only to be told that he would do nothing till Monday, though as a favor he did come up and nail the blind so that it did not slam. What would that carpenter have said if his wife had been taken violently ill that same night and the family physician had refused to come till Monday, or the apothecary had closed his door and refused to sell him any medicine?

Some years ago a senator of the United States told me that a barn which contained the year's crops of his large plantation was being shingled, and at five o'clock Saturday afternoon an hour's work needed to be done in order to complete the job. A heavy storm was evidently coming on, and he asked the workmen not to leave the centre of the roof open, but to work another hour and make the roof tight. He promised them very large extra pay, and pointed out that if they refused his entire crop would be lost. To a man they refused to work after five, and as a result his crops were lost.

This tyranny affects not only employers, but the working-men. On July 19th, 1918, in the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts, Mr. Underhill, speaking "for the independent workers, for the man who is trying to run a small manufacturing business, for the small tradesman, for the salesman, the clerk, the stenographer, the teacher, the doctor, the minister, and the many others of various callings who make up the life of the community," himself a workman at the beginning and always a friend of labor, told these stories:

To my attention not long ago came a family—wife, husband, and six children. The man was seriously ill. His illness was of long duration, and for six months we did all we could to keep that family together. We happily succeeded.

He was a painter by trade, and upon his partial recovery I secured a little inside work in our vicinity for him. As he grew stronger, I looked about for other places, and I found a good, big-hearted man who had an inside job in one of the Boston hotels and who said he would give him employment.

He put the man to work, but the walking dele-

gate of the Painters' and Decorators' Union came to this employer within two hours and said:

"Mr. R., I will have to call out our men. You have non-union help here."

"Why," said the employer, "I haven't anything of the sort."

"Yes, you have," said the delegate; "a new man went to work this morning."

"Well," said Mr. R., "send him to me and I will have him join the union."

My friend was called and said: "Mr. R., I am willing to join the union, but they won't let me."

"Won't let you? What do you mean by that?"

"Why, sir, they want $50. You know I have been sick for six months. The butcher, the baker, and everybody in my vicinity have trusted me because they knew that I was honest. The union won't take $10 a week for five weeks out of my pay in order that I may join. They want $50 at once."

But when Mr. R. offered to advance the money the walking delegate said my friend could not work on that job anyway!

Last spring while sitting in this chamber I was called out by a man who said:

"I have been a foreman carpenter out in your town, and, as you know, the building business is dead; there is not a thing to do except on government work. I have a job offered me at Ayer, but the union won't let me go to work."

I said, "Why don't you join the union?"

He replied: "I have tried to join the Union, but the only condition under which they will take me in is that I shall not go to work at Camp Devens."

I called into consultation a man high in the councils of the labor union movement, a man for whom I have a great deal of respect. I put the case up to him, and he said to me:

"Charley, we can't do a thing with the building trades. We can't do a thing with them."

Mr. Underhill added:

I have given two instances. You say they are isolated. I say they are typical. There are hundreds just like them, and you know it.

Unions leave to charitable associations the care of their unfortunates who are unable to pay their dues. I know, because they have come to me for help.

They won't let a man work unless they can tell him where he shall work and what he shall do.

Every one has heard of many such cases, and if you inquire you will find that many a strike, which is reported as demanded by the union, has been voted for by a small minority at a thinly attended meeting—thinly attended because the tired workman after his day's

work will not go and listen to long discussions in which the principal speakers do not command his confidence, just as good citizens in the days of the caucus would not attend. In each case the control of the organization falls into the hands of a few active men, and they reach results which their associates resent, but lack the patience or the courage to fight against.

The labor leaders, not themselves workmen, and not therefore familiar with the conditions in a given industry, are a danger to the country and to their followers as well. They are professional agitators, and if all goes well and every one is satisfied, the unions would soon ask, "Why should we pay these men for doing nothing?" Hence they must always be on the lookout for a chance to show that they are needed.

A member of the War Labor Board thus states the case:

> What is the nature of a union? It is a horizontal slice of society made up of men whose only

community of interest is their trade or craft. A machinist in a machine shop, and a machinist who is the repair man in a cotton mill, have little more community of interest than the members of a fat man's club; and machinists in two automobile factories may be in active competition with each other. They are members of rival teams and their success depends on the success of their teams, not of their union. Their union is not productive and represents no part of the actual industrial structure. It is an artificial creation and the basis for its membership is a purely arbitrary classification. It is simply a welfare organzation, and therefore has no right to interfere with or obstruct the creative organizations that are doing the work of the world.

Not being a creative organization, union leaders are selected for their popularity and because they are clever fighters and not for their achievement or ability as thinkers. They must keep the favor of the men and they are therefore subject to popular clamor. The chief skill needed to hold their position is the skill of the politician.

Again, if they succeed in doing what they are elected to do, that is, secure proper wages and conditions for the men, they work themselves out of a job. If conditions are satisfactory no one needs the union or cares to pay its dues. As a son wrote his father who for thirty years has been an organizer for one of the big unions: "You may be surprised to have me say this, Dad, considering the

surroundings I grew up in, but there is no occasion for a union here. It is an absolute pleasure to work."

In short, to hold his job a union leader must have an issue, and if one does not exist he must create it. If he doesn't some fellow-unionist, ambitious for the job, will start an issue on his own account and get elected. This means that the union leader must constantly be starting something. He is of necessity an agitator.

This does not apply to the international officers, many of whom are highly intelligent and reasonable men with a wonderful knowledge of people, and a sincere desire to assist the workers, nor does it, of course, apply universally to the local leaders, but it does apply to a very large proportion of them and it is the inevitable tendency.

The men who make up the element in our population which calls itself "Labor" are men like their fellow-citizens. They are brought up with the same traditions and believe in the same principles. They must be made to realize how selfish, how tyrannous is the present policy of the leaders whom they support. They must have clearly set before them that they are as responsible for the well-being of the country as any other

citizen, and that they have no right to ask for themselves laws and privileges which are not given to their neighbors.

The constant presentation of the facts, put briefly and clearly, is necessary to make them see through the eyes of their neighbors. "Put yourself in his place" is the simple rule never to be forgotten by either side. What is needed, in the first place, is mutual understanding. The employer must put himself in the workman's place and learn his point of view, his difficulties, and his hardships. The workman must be admitted to the counsels of the employer, and be taught the risks and uncertainties of his business, how much he can afford, and what will make his business impossible. The workman must learn that every employer has his own problems. Mr. Ford, with his tremendous income and his very profitable business, could afford to pay high wages, but his offer brought workmen from all sides only to find that all his needs were supplied and that other men

could not pay such wages, while all rents had risen with Mr. Ford's wages. A millionaire can afford to give his cook and his servants very high salaries, but his neighbors cannot, and when by the changes proposed millionaires cease to exist, wages must fall, and as we all approach the same level domestic servants will be driven into competition with carpenters and masons, who cannot be permitted to deny them the right to work at their trades.

Let us beware of our prejudices, and remember with John Bright that "the nation in every country dwells in the cottage."

A committee of the British Labor Party has prepared a careful programme for the reconstruction of society, and it has been much applauded. It begins with the assumption that European civilization has been destroyed by the war. To quote the committee's words:

> The individualist system of capitalist production, based on the private ownership and competitive

administration of land and capital, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage slavery, with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life, and its hypocritical pretence of the "survival of the fittest," with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and brutalization, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom, may, we hope, indeed, have received a death-blow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression.

The programme goes on as follows:

First. The first principle of the Labor Party . . . is the securing to every member of the community, in good times and bad alike . . . of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship.

The law must

2. Require the Government to find for every willing worker, whether by hand or brain, productive work at standard rates.

This is to be done by public works, "by raising the school-learning age to sixteen," by greatly increasing "the number of scholarships and bursaries for secondary and higher education," and by shortening the hours of labor to forty-eight hours a week

for adults and much less for younger persons. Moreover, whenever the Government "finds it impossible to discover for any willing worker, man or woman, a suitable situation at the standard rate," it "must provide him or her with adequate maintenance."

3. Secure the immediate nationalization of railways, mines, and the production of electrical power [and] their union along with harbors and roads and the posts and telegraphs, not to say also the great lines of steamers which could at once be owned, if not immediately managed in detail by the Government, in a united national service of communication and transport; to be worked, unhampered by capitalist private or purely local interests (and with a steadily increasing participation of the organized workers in the management, both central and local), exclusively for the common good.

4. Insure the assumption by a state department of the whole business of life and industrial assurance, [and the expropriation of] the profit-making industrial insurance companies, which now so tyrannously exploit the people with their wasteful house-to-house industrial life assurance.

It asks that the Government, among other things,

6. Provide for the continuance of the government control established during the war of the shipping, woollen, leather, clothing, boot and shoe, milling, baking, butchering, and other industries [and] the importation of wheat, wool, metals, and other commodities [and the fixing of prices] at the factory, at the warehouse of the wholesale broker and in the retail shop.

7. [Give to municipalities] every facility . . . to acquire easily, quickly, and cheaply all the land they require, and to extend their enterprises in housing and town planning, parks and public libraries, the provision of music and the organization of recreation; and also to undertake besides the retailing of coal and other services of common utility, particularly the local supply of milk.

8. [Secure ultimately] the common ownership of the nation's land.

To meet the enormous expense which this scheme entails, it aims at such a system of taxation as will

yield all the necessary revenue to the Government without encroaching on the prescribed national minimum standard of life of any family whatsoever, without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort and with the nearest possible approximation to equality of sacrifice.

These laudable objects are to be attained

without any protective tariff, "any taxation of whatever kind which would increase the price of food or any other necessary of life," any "taxes interfering with production or commerce or hampering transport and communications." Indirect taxation is to be "strictly limited to luxuries and concentrated principally on those of which it is socially desirable that the consumption should be actually discouraged," a vanishing source of revenue it would seem.

The usual sources of revenue by customs and excise being thus restricted, the expenses of the nation are to be paid by the taxation of incomes "above the necessary cost of family maintenance," by the direct taxation of private fortunes, and by enormous inheritance taxes, taking all except the sum which a rich man may be allowed "to divert by his will from the national exchequer." The national debt is to be paid or largely reduced by a capital levy chargeable, like the death duties, on all property, "graduated so as to

take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaire."

For the future the surplus produced in any year above what is required for the support of the people is to go "not to the enlargement of any individual fortune, but to the common good." From this surplus provision is to be made for the sick and infirm, for education, for music, literature, and the fine arts, and for everything "brightening the lives of those now condemned to almost ceaseless toil."

Let us suppose that an employer and a workman, in complete sympathy and anxious to change the world for the better, were to sit down together and make some calculations. Let them take first what it will cost the State to take all the property now used in transportation and communication, railroads, steamships, street railway, gas and electric lighting systems, ports, harbors, power plants, mines, to make an imperfect

list of public utilities. Unless it is proposed to take them without paying, a German device against which the world is fighting, a new national debt far exceeding the war debt would be created with a corresponding burden of interest. If the public does not pay, it at once destroys the large fortunes out of which the national debt and other public expenses are to be met.

Let them take next the cost of keeping these properties in order, adding to their facilities, building new tracks, bridges, etc., and the wages of the men employed in running them, bearing in mind that many railroads and other public utilities do not pay now and must be made at least self-supporting.

Let them take next the cost of providing every one with employment, "in good times and bad alike," at a rate sufficient to secure to every one "all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship," and also providing for the comfortable support of the old

and disabled, including the expense of asylums, hospitals, and like institutions now in many cases supported by private endowment.

To this add the expense of education, "scholarships and bursaries," and college education for many more than now receive it to say the least, the expense of nationalizing the land, the expense of life and industrial insurance, the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks, the building of houses—to complete the programme add "parks and public libraries, the provision of music, and the organization of recreation," and do not underestimate the army of men who are to carry on all this work for the State, as well as control all the business now in private hands and see that the laws which fix prices and the like are enforced. Even the dullest must realize that the total is appalling.

Passing now to the other side, where is the money to come from which will meet these expenses? Customs and excise taxes

are barred as well as those which interfere "with production or commerce" or hamper "transport and communication." The State cannot tax the property which belongs to itself and is used in these multiple activities, nor the income which flows from them. That would be taxing itself.

Reliance is placed upon taking by taxation the fortunes of the rich and a large part of their incomes. But once these fortunes have been taken to pay the government debt or to fill the public exchequer, either by direct tax during the life or by inheritance taxes on the death of the owner, this resource will be gone, and from what sources any person is to derive a large taxable income and build up a new fortune is not apparent. With every public utility in the hands of the State and all business controlled by it to prevent large profits, it is impossible to see whence large incomes can come, and with large incomes will disappear the value of jewels, great houses and ornamental grounds, and many other investments of capital.

The income with which the large expenses are met must come from the business now done by private citizens which will be transferred to the State. This means that it must be conducted so as to realize a large profit and by very efficient men. The workmen who enter the service of the State cannot be allowed to strike, because strikes will diminish the income of the State, both by suspending earnings while the strike continues and by increasing expense. The Government must decide what it can afford to pay its employees and what it must charge the public for the service which it renders, and he who enters the employ of the State must enlist as one enlists in the army, so that a strike will be mutiny. He can no longer ignore his contract.

The Government must fix wages and rates so as to get a proper income from the public industries, otherwise the whole scheme fails. Is there anything in our experience which should lead us to expect that

government service would be as efficient as private service? Are our cities so well governed, are our public enterprises so well managed, are political considerations so carefully excluded in dealing with public matters, that we can expect good results from the change proposed? Will not demagogues of all kinds seek to gain the good places in the public service? Will there not be a wage-earners' party opposed by a ratepayers' party, and candidates seeking the support of one or the other by lavish promises? Will the campaign fund be forgotten and no voter or legislator be venal? To-day the managers of private corporations have an interest in reducing cost and improving service. They seek larger business and greater returns. The public official will have no such motive to guard the public interest, but will inevitably adopt the course best calculated to keep his place. This is human nature and it cannot be changed. The field for the operation of such organizations as

Tammany and its kindred Rings in other cities will be enlarged enormously. Will they keep their hands from picking and stealing? The patronage of the Government will be multiplied a hundred-fold. Is there in this no danger to democracy? Will not an unscrupulous ruler find in the office-holders an army of supporters in a political campaign? You can answer these questions as well as I.

Are the people no longer to save? Their savings will be capital and must be invested. Where are the investments to be found; what securities will be left? There will be no public bonds, for the State, having paid its existing debt by taking the property of the rich and calling the process taxation, will not incur a new debt. The interest on this would add to the public burden, and if the new debt were to be paid in its turn by taking the savings of the thrifty, no one would care to save. If the infirm, sick, and disabled are to be supported by the State, if

there are no profitable investments which are safe from the tax-gatherer, why should any one save?

Such paternalism as is proposed takes away the hope of better things, the love of one's family, the fear of poverty and suffering, the great motives which develop the industry, the ability, the skill of men. What have been deemed the prizes of life cease to exist. Will public spirit and the ambition to leave an honored name take their place? No one who has thought on such problems can fail to see that an attempt to re-create the world on such a new plan cannot succeed. The Bolsheviki open the door to the Kaiser.

To many of us it has seemed that the best way to give the laborer a fair share of what he produces was through genuine "profit-sharing," creating in him an interest in the business which will make him work for its success and insuring him a proper compensation for his work. To such it is discour-

aging to find in a recent book of Sidney Webb on the very problem which we are considering the following passage: "This does not mean profit-sharing (an exploded futility which is simply anathema), and must on no account be thought of—its mere mention will wreck any settlement." This weapon, therefore, breaks in our hands. A moment's reflection will tell you why. Profits are not the payment of a definite sum for definite work. They are the reward of skill in managing a business, of the work which the owner does in season and out of season, and are subject to risks of loss from various causes including strikes by his workmen. No man will take the risk of loss unless he has the hope of profit. The workmen will not take the risk of loss. They cannot afford it, for they need assured support, and since in the long run compensation by a share of profits involves the risk of loss, they will have none of it.

If the reformers who pose as the friends

of labor would think for a moment, they would realize that the successful men of the world owe their success to hard work continued through long hours by night as well as by day. No great surgeon, no successful lawyer, no captain of industry has won his place by eight hours' work a day for five days in the week. He has burned much midnight oil, has passed many sleepless hours on his bed, has spent himself freely to win his prizes. Idleness and poor work never won anything valuable. "Heaven helps him who helps himself," and in helping himself helps his neighbors.

Men must realize that the tyranny of labor is as dangerous to freedom as the tyranny of wealth, and bow to the principles thus laid down by four great organizations of farmers in a memorial to Congress, "No set of men has ever had the moral or legal right to destroy property or cause suffering by combining together, and the welfare of all the people must ever remain superior to that of any

class or group of people." The same power that fettered the trusts may yet deal with the unions, but it is to be hoped that wiser counsels will prevail, and that employer and employed will recognize and apply, as they must, the homely but ancient rule, "Live and let live."

In conclusion, we may agree that excessive profits should be curtailed, that the workman should have a voice in the conduct of the business which his labor makes possible, and that everything should be done to make his life happy, but the motives which lead every man to do his best work, to live a sober and industrious life, should not be impaired. Everything should be done to study the situation, to promote good feeling, to secure co-operation between those who must work together, but let us remember that we are dealing with human nature and with all the obstacles that greed, selfishness and jealousy can put in our way, and recognize that we cannot create a new world, though by kindliness and patience we may improve the old.

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS

LET me invite your attention this evening to the international relations of this country which are sure to become more and more important as the years go on. The United States is to-day the dominant power in this hemisphere, and no American entertains a doubt that it will remain so, as six years ago every German confidently expected to see "Deutschland über alles."

As is the wont of mankind, we consider all other peoples our inferiors. It is an ancient hallucination. Sir John Mandeville, the famous English traveller, in 1360 after his return from his adventurous journeys, said, "Fro what partie of the erthe that men dwellen, other aboven or beneathen, it semethe always to hem that dwellen that thei gon more righte than any other folke," and the same delusion persists, though for some eighteen centuries we have professed to be-

lieve that all nations of men are made of one blood "for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

It is amusing to what extravagances our self-conceit carries us. Our nation is the greatest of nations, our state is the best state, our city leads all others, our quarter of the city is the best, our side of the street is better than the opposite, our set ranks all others, our family is the best in our set. The process of elimination can be carried further, but I forbear. These beliefs are the product of conceit and ignorance. We should never forget the lesson contained in the little anecdote of Charles Lamb. He said, pointing to another man, "I hate that man." "Why," said a friend, "do you know him?" "No," replied Lamb, "if I knew him I shouldn't hate him."

Let us approach the subject in a more modest spirit. Consider first our geographical position. North of us lie the British Provinces, a region filled with boundless natural

resources, very imperfectly appreciated and as yet hardly touched. To-day it has a population of some seven or eight million people, but its possibilities are indicated by the statement of an English journal which was in substance as follows: "India has a population of about 300,000,000, Australia is three times as large as India, and Australia laid on the British possessions in North America would bear about the same relation to them as the cup does the saucer." This is not mathematically exact, but it is substantially true, and Canada to-day offers the greatest rewards to enterprise. In time it will in itself be a mighty empire.

South of us lies Latin America, divided into some twenty different republics with nearly as large an aggregate population as our own and with much larger territory, for Brazil alone is larger than the United States. The people who dwell in them have inherited different traditions from ours, speak a different language, and have different standards

in many ways, but are a proud and self-respecting race.

Across the Atlantic on one side of us is Europe, which I need not describe, and across the Pacific on the other lie Japan and China with enormous populations and great possibilities not yet developed according to the world's standards of to-day, but gaining rapidly. By our conquest of the Philippine Islands we have assumed responsibilities and obligations in Asia, and are necessarily interested in Asiatic politics. We began our career in Asia with the cheerful assumption that the Asiatics are lower in the social scale than ourselves, forgetting the truth thus expressed by Meredith Townsend that "All creeds accepted by civilized and semi-civilized mankind are of Asiatic origin. All humanity, except the negroes and the savage races of America and Polynesia, regulate their conduct and look for a future state as some Asiatic has taught them."

. . . Europe having accepted with hearty confi-

dence the views of Peter and Paul, both Asiatics, about the meaning of what their Divine Master said, regards all other systems of religious thought with contemptuous distaste, and sums them up in its heart as "heathen rubbish." Yet Confucius must have been a wise man or his writings could not have moulded the Chinese mind, while Mahommedanism has a grip such as no other creed, not even Christianity, possesses except on a few individuals. Brahmanism and Buddhism alike rest upon deep and far-reaching philosophies.

The truth is, the contempt is chiefly born of neglect and ignorance. We do not know them, we do not try to know them, we do not wish to know them. It is easier to wrap ourselves in our own conceit and look down upon them, but is it safe?

We thought the armies enormous which were engaged in the Great War. Let Mr. Townsend tell us of Asiatic power:

We think of these masses of men as feeble folk, but one single section of them never seen outside their own peninsula, the warrior races of India, outnumber all who speak English; while a single race of formidable fighters, capable of discipline, in a group of islands off the coast, the Japanese, are more numerous than the French. When the Mongol, or

rather a small federation of tribes from among a division of the Mongols, first burst out of his steppe he reached France, and on the plain of Chalons nearly overthrew the Roman Empire. When the Arabs, never fourteen millions strong, debouched from their deserts, they defeated both Eastern Rome and Persia, extirpated the Vandals of North Africa, conquered Spain, and *after* their first energy had decayed, drove the picked chivalry of Europe out of Palestine. When the third Asiatic explosion took place, the Mongol conquered China and India, which he kept, and Russia, which he only lost after two centuries, and made all Europe tremble lest by defeating Austria he should acquire dominance through the whole west. Intermediately, a little Asiatic tribe seated itself in Anatolia, warred down the Eastern Empire of Rome, threatened all Central Europe, and to this hour retains the glorious provinces which it oppresses only because, by the consent of all who have observed him, the Turk is the best individual soldier in the world. Three Asiatic soldiers, the Turk, the Sikh, and the Japanese, have adopted European arms and discipline, and no man can say if either of the three encountered Russian armies which would be the victor, yet Europe does not consider defeating Russians a light task. Taking the figures of the German conscription as our guide, there are in Asia eighty millions of potential soldiers, of whom certainly one-fifth know the use of weapons.

This was written in 1900, and since then Japan has answered his question as to which would win in a war between that country and Russia.

Few of us ever heard of that great battle, the battle of Yakusa, when in one day 90,000 Roman regulars, aided by 150,000 auxiliaries, were absolutely defeated with the loss of more than 100,000 men by an Arab army of 40,000 men. History is said to repeat itself.

What are to be our relations with these various nations that surround us?

For centuries the history of the world has been the history of successive wars. One nation after another has fought its way to supremacy, enduring for a while only to go down before some new power. The might of Xerxes, the empire of Alexander who sighed for new worlds to conquer, the supremacy of Rome, the rule of Spain over two continents, have each in turn fallen to rise no more. The Bourbons, the Bonapartes, the Roman-

offs, the Hapsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns have had their "little hour of strut and rave," have deluged the world with blood, and have proved the truth of the text that "He who draws the sword shall perish by the sword."

It is not difficult for us to determine what has been the effect of all these wars upon humanity. We know that they have caused untold suffering, that the Thirty Years' War left Germany a desert, that the wars of Napoleon reduced the stature of the French people. We can, if we will, trace the baleful effects of war upon civilization in every way until we agree with Benjamin Franklin that "There never was a good war and there never was a bad peace." By this no one means that a nation must not defend itself, or that an oppressed people must not revolt against tyranny, but it is the aggressors, the men who begin the war or create the conditions that make war inevitable, on whom must rest the responsibility for all the loss and suffering which war causes.

Terrible as were the consequences of war in the earlier centuries, the area was restricted. The religious wars which desolated Europe did not disturb Asia, and left the peoples of Africa untroubled. Nations were more isolated and homogeneous, the weapons of war were simpler and less expensive, the armies engaged were smaller. As late as our Civil War the army which General Grant commanded when he began his advance on Richmond in 1864 did not exceed 120,000 men.

The last war has opened the eyes of us all to what war now means. Larger armies than were dreamed of until now have devoted years to mutual destruction. Weapons which we thought barred by the conventions of civilized nations, like poisonous gas, have been employed freely. The rules of war have been changed infinitely for the worse. Noncombatants, women, girls, have been treated with inconceivable brutality. Artillery has acquired

a range which seemed impossible. Tennyson's dream of aerial navies has been realized. Submarines have added new terrors to conflicts on the ocean, and the organized scientific devastation of occupied territory has horrified us all. The private property of innocent individuals has been stolen by high officers, great architectural monuments have wantonly been destroyed, and the world has been brought to the verge of ruin, whole populations are starving, great nations are bankrupt, and a load has been laid upon the backs of generations to come under which they must stagger for at least a century. The scars of the struggle are indelible, and the hatred which these things have created seems likely to be ineradicable. It is impossible to exaggerate what this war has cost the world.

We have learned not only the possibilities of modern war, but we have learned also that of nations as of men the text is true that our "foes shall be they of our own household."

It is difficult to assert anything with confidence about operations in their nature secret, but the world believes that German influence and German money withheld from the Russian armies the food and the munitions which they needed in order to keep the field; that the same forces were behind Lenin and Trotsky; that Belgium was supplied by German manufacturers with guns and shells, so constructed as to be more dangerous to the Belgians than to their enemies; that the demoralization of the Italian armies which led to their memorable defeat was caused by false reports spread by the Italian emissaries of Germany. France had her Caillaux and Bolo with their followers, the so-called "defeatists." England had her Irish patriots supported by German money and supplied with German arms; and we know how German plots in this country resulted in the destruction of factory after factory, and in an active campaign among the elements of our population which are hostile to England that

threatened the most serious consequences. In a word, we have learned that it is possible for a nation in preparation for war, through machinations conducted under the cover of intimate commercial relations, to paralyze its victims in advance.

We have learned another important lesson, for we have found that a war between great nations cannot be confined to the original combatants. It is a conflagration, which, like the great Chicago fire, may start in a shed and spread till a whole city is in ruins. In any such contest we cannot remain neutral. Whether we will or no, our interests are so widespread, so involved with those of other nations, so sure to be affected injuriously by a war, that strive as we may we are inevitably driven in self-defence to take part in the conflict. It was not to make the world safe for democracy, but to make it safe for ourselves, that we sent our armies across the sea.

The policy of isolation, a very proper

policy for five millions of people just recovering from war and by no means united, is no longer possible or desirable. When Jefferson in his first message warned us against "entangling alliances," a phrase constantly attributed to Washington, we were separated from Europe and Asia by two great oceans which it took weeks to cross, and our dealings with other countries were few and simple. Now the steamship has bridged the oceans, the telegraph has made communication constant and easy, the aeroplane may soon measure by hours the time between continents, our dealings with Europe are constant, enormous in amount and as varied as human interests. We are vitally concerned in all that happens on either continent. The graves of our soldiers in France and in the Philippines have ended forever the possibility of isolation. We may shut our eyes and imagine that we are independent of Europe, but when we open them the illusion is dispelled.

We are tied to the rest of the world by bonds that we cannot break, and we can no more dwell in the world and not be of it than a man who lives in a great city can be unaffected by the calamities which befall its inhabitants. The storms which break over the region, the pestilence which kills its people, the riots, the conflagration, the famines which afflict it, afflict him. Every man and every nation shares the good or ill which befalls the world, and must recognize the obligation to help others. As the influenza which starts in Spain comes across the sea to scourge the United States, and the bubonic plague comes from Asia to threaten us; as the insects which originate in other countries come to devastate our forests and our fields, so war, bankruptcy, or famine anywhere in the world come home to us, and prosperity anywhere helps us. An eminent political economist once said to me that the opening of the Suez Canal caused the panic of 1873 because it destroyed the value of the

East India fleet, the merchantmen that had carried the commerce between Europe and Asia round the Cape of Good Hope. We are not helping other nations only, but we are helping ourselves when we try to prevent evil or promote good in other countries. We are forced to say with Garrison, "Our country is the world—our countrymen are all mankind."

These are the lessons of the last five years, and we are living in a world which fears more, hates more, and trusts less than ever before. One question confronts all nations, white, brown, yellow, and black. Must we go on hating and suspecting each other, preparing for war at enormous expense, and by our very preparation insuring its coming? Must we tax ourselves to support large armies, great fleets, reservoirs of gas, enormous stores of arms, elaborate fortifications? Must we in self-defence maintain spies in every friendly country to watch with suspicion all that is done, and to justify their ex-

istence by reporting all that they suspect and so promoting hostility? Must our scientific men devote their time and their knowledge to inventing new agents of destruction, guns that will carry projectiles one hundred miles, gases that will destroy the population of a great city, new explosives, new submarines, more formidable aeroplanes, withdrawing thus from useful research the time and talent which might be employed to arrest disease and help us all to live better and enjoy our lives more? Must we look forward always to new wars, to constant sacrifices of our youth, more universal starvation, more absolute ruin? Is human nature such a poor thing that any attempt to prevent these horrors is futile, and must the future like the past be only a record of wars growing steadily more general and more destructive of all that makes life valuable? Is the prospect so hopeless that we must not even try to make it better? The real question for all statesmen and diplomats to-day is, "How shall we keep the peace?"

Let me answer this question by asking another: "Is there any reason why nations should not behave like gentlemen?" Why in our intercourse with other peoples should we not be courteous, rather than brutal or domineering? Should we not accomplish more if, in our diplomatic correspondence, in the speeches of our public men, and in the newspapers we gave foreign nations and foreign statesmen credit for the same honesty of purpose that we claim for ourselves? It is proverbially easy to bring up other people's children and to spend properly other people's money, but we have difficulties with our own. No ruler of men has his own way, from the selectman of a little town to the Prime Minister of England. For months many Americans have been pouring the vials of their wrath upon the President of the United States, while with another section his opponents are very much discredited. The statesmen who negotiated the Peace Treaty are fiercely criticized, and the less men know

of the problems which confronted them and of the difficulties with which they had to deal the more bitter is the condemnation. Unless we know the situation we ought not to denounce the action of the men who had to deal with it. Government is always carried on by compromise. Different elements in a population have to be considered and humored, and while the general result may be good, the successive steps will always offer a mark for critics. We read the headlines in a newspaper, we skim some reckless speech, we know that newspaper paragraphs written of necessity in haste are not necessarily accurate, but from such data we form an opinion to which we cling obstinately, especially if it helps to support the position of our party. "Every country is held at some time to account for the windows broken by its press. The bill is presented some day or other in the form of hostile sentiment in the other country." These words of Bismarck, as quoted by Brander Matthews, should be

printed in every editorial sanctum. The feeling of hostility to England in this country —which is unfortunately too common—is in part at least due to the disparaging remarks of her newspapers and public men during the Civil War. When the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations devotes a long speech to attacks on the purposes and sincerity of Japan, he is simply creating hostility, and as what he says comes from a man in high official position, it is more regarded and produces a far worse effect than the editorial in a newspaper, and the bill for it is just as sure to be presented.

Breaking our neighbors' windows, to use Bismarck's simile, is a dangerous and expensive sport. If we have doubts and suspicions, they should be kept to ourselves lest hasty expression may goad hesitating friends into settled hostility. The man or the nation that desires peace should treat every one with courtesy, look for the good and not for the evil in others, and in his dealings be fair and

assume that those with whom he deals wish to be fair also. There is everything in the way of putting things, and no man is fit for great responsibility who cannot put himself in the place of the man he addresses and speak as he would be spoken to. When as Secretary of State Mr. Root visited South America to attend the Pan-American Congress, he stated the true rule when he said:

> We consider that the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest members of the family of nations deserve as much respect as those of the great Empires. We pretend to no right, privilege, or power that we do not freely concede to each one of the American Republics.

As an illustration of the tone to be avoided, and as a marked contrast to the words of Mr. Root, let me quote the language of the dispatch sent by Secretary Knox to the diplomatic representative of Guatemala in Washington, when Zelaya was the President of that state:

> Since the Washington Convention of 1907 it is notorious that President Zelaya has almost con-

tinuously kept Central America in tension or turmoil; that he has repeatedly and flagrantly violated the provisions of the convention, and by a baleful influence upon Honduras whose neutrality the convention were to assure has sought to discredit those sacred international obligations.

Scarcely more conciliatory is the language used by the majority of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in reporting "the peace treaty":

We have heard it frequently said that the United States "must" do this and do that in regard to this league of nations and the terms of the German peace. There is no "must" about it. "Must" is not a word to be used by foreign nations or domestic officials to the American People or other representatives.

One may doubt whether "must" was used by any "foreign nation," but the Committee resents it. Yet the Committee itself commits the offence in the same paragraph when the report continues:

The other nations will take us on our own terms, for without us their league is a wreck and all their gains from a victorious peace are imperilled.

This means, "Accept our terms or lose all the fruits of the dearly-bought victory which Europe and America have both given so much to win." If Lloyd George or Clemenceau, adopting the same tone, had said, "America will come into the League on such terms as we fix or not at all," what would have been the feeling in this country?

Whatever we may think of a foreign ruler, such language as Mr. Knox's is inexcusable, and it is peculiarly cowardly when used by the representative of a powerful nation toward a weak one. Such diplomacy as this would soon leave us without a single friend. "The power of manners is incessant—an element as unconcealable as fire," says Emerson. "No man can resist their influence."

As an extraordinary and wholly unnecessary piece of rudeness, let me call your attention to the refusal of the assembled statesmen to recognize racial equality in the Treaty of Versailles, when Japan requested such recognition. That great nations like Japan, which

prevailed in war against Russia, and China with its uncounted millions of people, must be recognized by other nations as equal in the view of international law cannot be denied. No useful consequence could follow from insulting them, while the insult certainly laid the seeds of future hostility. One can only fall back upon Puck's exclamation, "What fools these mortals be." Why will they close their eyes to the folly of rating men by the color of their skin?

If each nation would cultivate friendship with every other, remember and rejoice in the other's brilliant achievements and great powers, and, if occasion for criticism comes, think first of its own shortcomings before criticizing, if in a word we all recognized our common humanity and were to each other's faults "a little blind," peace would soon be well-nigh established. Every private citizen in his daily conversation should discourage attacks on other countries and frown upon those who insist that we won the war, or

relate stories to the discredit of Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Italians, stories which have almost certainly been exaggerated or changed as they passed from mouth to mouth. By so doing he will help the cause of peace. The test is easy. Whatever he would not like to have a foreigner say of us, he can be sure that the foreigner will resent if said of his countrymen. Idle gossip among private citizens tends to create a feeling of hostility which at a crisis may force the hand of a government. Let us all try to think of other people as our friends and not as enemies who are planning against us. Let us, in any event, try to make them our friends by treating them with courtesy and not speaking ill of them to their faces.

The cultivation of friendship with other nations by word and act is the imperative duty of us all, but unhappily the speech of men is not to be controlled, and we need some stronger barrier against future war than kindly feeling. Men's memories are

short, but we cannot have forgotten in a year the resolve which we all made while the war was raging. We tried to reconcile ourselves to the carnage by the thought that this would be the last war and that the young men who laid down their lives were dying for an object worthy of the sacrifice, and that object was lasting peace. We repeated the words of Lincoln, and again and again declared our determination that "these men shall not have died in vain." We cannot have forgotten this high resolve so soon. Yet the headlines in the newspapers already speak of the coming war in the Pacific.

Assuming that we do not take counsel of despair, but are willing at least to try, it is conceded by all that the only way to prevent future war is by a combination of the nations against it, an alliance so formidable that no nation will dare to challenge its power. This means an agreement by every nation with every other that it will not resort to war for any cause, and an agreement by all the

nations with each other that their united force shall be used against any nation which breaks its pledge. This is the same compact among peoples to preserve the world peace that exists among the people of a city or state to preserve its peace. The criminal knows that the whole power of the state is behind the policeman, and the nation that would make war must feel that to do so is to face the world in arms.

A discussion of the pending treaty is not consistent with the plan of these lectures, so whatever my opinion, it will not be expressed here. That it is imperfect, that it is possible to imagine dangers and difficulties which might arise under it, is only to say that it was drawn by human beings, but whatever the faults which experience may disclose, they can be amended as that experience may suggest. If, however, it is absolutely bad and not to be accepted at all, its object still remains to be accomplished, and the leaders who oppose it agree with its friends in de-

siring some league of nations against war, though as yet they have not disclosed what league they would recommend. That we are not without obligations to our late associates in the war is recognized clearly by Senator Lodge, who, on December 21, 1918, said:

> We must do our share to carry out the peace as we have done our share to win the war, of which the peace is an integral part. We must do our share in the occupation of German territory which will be held as security for the indemnities to be paid by Germany. We cannot escape doing our part in aiding the peoples to whom we have helped to give freedom and independence in establishing themselves with ordered governments, for in no other way can we erect the barriers which are essential to prevent another outbreak by Germany upon the world. We cannot leave the Jugo-Slavs, the Czecho-Slovaks and the Poles, the Lithuanians and the other states which we hope to see formed and marching upon the path of progress and development, unaided and alone.

The necessity confronts us all, and we must all use all the influence we have to see that a proper treaty is made. Let those who object to this treaty and criticize its provi-

sions devote themselves to construction, and let us assure them that we stand ready to aid them in securing the union of the world against war. Men are mortal, and any scheme may work imperfectly in practice, but there is no possible failure so bad as the failure to try, the admission that wars which must destroy all that has been gained by the civilization of centuries are inevitable, and that we must give ourselves up to preparation for them at an expense which is scarcely less ruinous than war itself. The object of our international policy must be world peace, and whether in public office or private life we must all labor to secure it.

We, who have been the leaders in the movement for a league of nations, and whose public men have been prominent in the League to Enforce Peace, may at all events set an example to other countries by not ourselves resorting to war. There are now among us two bodies of men, who, with all the horrors of war fresh in our memories,

would embroil us with our nearest neighbors. Certain Irishmen, citizens of a foreign country, joined by our own citizens of Irish descent, are conducting on our soil a campaign for Irish independence to be carried on with money raised from Americans, as I have pointed out in a previous lecture. The President of the Irish Republic, whose name would not identify him with Ireland, is governing his domain from hotels and sleeping-cars in this country, and receives a consideration from state and city officials here which cannot fail to irritate Englishmen.

To what does this all tend? It is impossible to imagine a greater calamity to the world than a war between the United States and the British Empire. Standing together they go far to insure the civilization of the world. Let them engage in war and every German, every foe of either, would rejoice. Use your minds and consider what horrors would attend the course of such a war, where the combatants would be left when it ended,

no matter which was victor, and what the hopeless division of English-speaking people would mean to the world. Consider that Ireland contains only some four million people, that they are hopelessly divided, that they are now more prosperous than any country in Europe, and consider also what capacity they have shown for governing themselves or any other people economically and wisely. Then say whether there is any justification for tolerating an agitation which contemplates war between hundreds of millions of men, the most civilized in the world. It cannot succeed in its object, but it will breed hostility and distrust where we should have friendship and mutual confidence. Irish agitation underlies now the opposition to the Peace Treaty and keeps our country at war with Germany. It may postpone world peace indefinitely, and for every reason the United States should frown upon it.

This agitation threatens our peace on the

north. Another body of citizens seeks to embroil us in the south. Mexico is the frontier of Latin America as France is the frontier of civilization in Europe, and all the peoples of Central and South America are watching our course in dealing with her. She has been passing through a revolution, which was needed to break up the enormous holdings of land and also to do away with other abuses which had grown up under the administration of Diaz and his predecessors. During the struggle and the conflicts between different leaders there has been much disorder, much loss of life, and much destruction of property, as there is in every civil war. Mexico in this respect is simply following the example of all countries, for they have reached stable conditions through contests which not infrequently have reached the dimensions of civil war. I need only remind you of the wars between the English and Scotch, the Wars of the Roses, the revolution in England, and the long religious

contests in France with its great revolution, to say nothing of later struggles like those which followed the Franco-Prussian War, our own revolution and our civil war, and all that is now going on in Russia and elsewhere in Europe, to satisfy you that Mexico is in no way peculiar.

Now a government has been established which has been recognized by the United States and by other countries as the government of Mexico. Order has been restored, though there are here and there conflicts with bandits. The relations between the Church and the State which have been disturbed are re-established, and conditions are growing better every year.

But there are certain Americans interested in oil properties in Mexico, notably William Randolph Hearst, who are conducting a propaganda in favor of intervention in Mexico. Even Mr. Taft, president of the league formed to prevent war by insisting on preliminary arbitration, talks of Mexico as a

nuisance which should be cleaned up. Americans have acquired property in Mexico and are making money out of it. They wish to make more. They have not thrown in their lot with Mexico, they have not become Mexican citizens, they are not taking their part as such in the attempt to govern the country from which they are taking their money, but they want us to intervene and smooth their financial path by becoming the rulers of the country and governing it in the interest of themselves and perhaps of other foreigners. They claim that civilization needs the resources of Mexico and that they are civilization's agents in developing and appropriating them. They perhaps do not put their case exactly in this way. They say more crudely that Americans are being killed in Mexico and that American property rights are not respected, and that America must overthrow the Government of Mexico. They do not lay before us a statement of their properties, how they were acquired, what

returns they are yielding, and what the Mexican Government is doing to injure them. They dwell more on the killing of Americans. For example, the headlines the other day in large type said, "Two Americans found dead, killed by bandits. Mr. Lansing demands justice."

Much might be said in support of the contention that the resources of a country belong to its inhabitants, and that if foreigners elect to acquire property or engage in business there they must not ask their fellow-countrymen to make war in order to help their business. Mr. Kent, a member of Congress from California, said some years ago in substance this: "I have large interests in Mexico which suffer from conditions there, but I don't mean to go down and fight for them, or let my son go down and fight for them; and if I don't propose to fight for my own property, I have no right to ask other people to send their sons to fight for me."

Let us look at the situation practically. As

to the killing of Americans, the most recent statement that I have seen was in substance that in ten years, including years under Madero and Huerta, counting men who are missing as killed, some five hundred Americans have been killed in Mexico. Some 171 of these lost their lives when we attacked Vera Cruz during our warlike operations there. How the rest were killed, who killed them, and in what circumstances is not stated. They were not killed by the Mexican Government in pursuance of a hostile policy, but lost their lives during the disturbances when thousands of Mexicans lost theirs. Whether they killed any Mexicans before the end came is not clear. The very numbers are in doubt. Do such conditions justify war?

Every morning paper tells us of murders committed in Boston, New York, and other large cities. Clerks are held up in stores by robbers who shoot and escape. Bandits enter a bank, rob it at the point of revolvers, and make off with their booty. The officers

of justice sometimes catch the criminals, but more often they do not. Yet ours is a civilized and highly organized community. Can we go to war with Mexico because the Mexican Government cannot prevent crimes or catch the criminals?

In many states citizens are lynched, burned to death with hideous barbarities, and not even an attempt is made to stop these crimes or punish the lynchers. During eighteen years there have been 1427 lynchings, during 1918 there were sixty-seven recorded, and still the number increases. Nor do these include the persons killed in riots in Washington, Chicago, Omaha, and elsewhere. Have we no beam in our own eye? The men lynched were American citizens, living under the protection of our flag in peaceful communities. If we cannot protect them or even try to punish their murderers, what is our right against Mexico?

Mexico is a small country. Her population is about 15,000,000, against our

100,000,000 or more. Her resources are slight and ours are limitless. We can conquer as surely as a prize-fighter can whip a boy. Could we be proud of such a victory?

It is conceded that the attempt would unite the factions of Mexico in defence of their country. It is estimated that it would take some 400,000 or 500,000 men and some years to complete the conquest. We can draw some inferences from General Pershing's attempt to capture Villa—the commander of our army in France with an adequate force and no resistance against a fleeing bandit with a handful of followers. A speaker who is advocating action against the Mexican Government and is the counsel of the oil interests said the other day that 97 per cent. of the Mexicans are excellent and peaceful people. Why should we kill these people who had no more to do with the death of Americans than our own soldiers? How should we profit the Americans who are gone by sending thousands more Americans to die on the

deserts and in the wild places of Mexico, leaving behind them desolate homes, bereaved wives, and orphaned children? If we are thinking of property, put into one scale the entire damage done to American property in Mexico and in the other the cost of a war waged only for a few months. Add to it the pension list and tell me which scale tips the beam.

Suppose we have won the victory and Mexico lies prostrate at our feet. How shall we govern it? Shall we add to our negro problem, our labor problem, our Philippine problem, a Mexican problem, aggravated as it will be by the hostility of all Latin America, which will see in this country the Prussia of the Western Hemisphere, an aggressive power to be watched and distrusted? Shall we make a territory of Mexico to be divided into states and admitted before they are ready, because one or the other political party needs senators? Shall we wait with sickening anxiety till

some Presidential election is determined by the returns from Chihuahua? Can the humanity, the wisdom, the Christianity of this great country devise no better method of dealing with a weak neighbor than such a war? I will not believe it.

If, instead of insolent and irritating dispatches sent by our Secretary of State, we were to appoint a commission, not of politicians in need of a salary, but of such men as we should trust in large affairs, men of character and proved ability, let them investigate all the charges against Mexico, make a temperate statement of our case, and then negotiate with the Mexican Government for a settlement: such considerate and courteous treatment would in all probability produce good results far more speedily than any intervention could secure, and at far less cost in every way. We should at least know then what the case really is, and if negotiation failed, arbitration would remain. Not till all these methods of peaceful

settlement have been tried should war be thought of.

It is amazing and interesting to see how the newspaper charges against a foreign nation, nay more, the charges which governments themselves present, shrink when put to the test of judicial investigation.

Some years ago the Honorable Wayne MacVeagh, former Attorney-General of the United States, in an argument for Venezuela stated the facts in regard to the claims which had been presented to arbitration commissions for allowance. He dealt with the years between 1868 and 1892, and with the claims presented to commissions by Great Britain, the United States, France, Spain, Mexico, and Chili, countries, as he stated, which were fairly representative of the civilized nations. The figures are very striking. To the Commission constituted July 4, 1868, to settle the claims presented by the United States against Mexico, and Mexico against the United States, the United States presented

claims for $470,126,613.40, and the total amount awarded was $4,125,622.20, a little less than nine-tenths of one per cent. Mexico presented claims for $86,661,891.15 (the cents in each case showing the extraordinary accuracy with which the figures were made up), and the amount allowed was $150,498.41, about sixteen-hundredths of one per cent.

By the Commission appointed on the 8th of May, 1871, certain claims growing out of the Civil War were considered. Great Britain presented claims against the United States amounting to $96,000,000, and the amount awarded was $1,929,819, about two per cent. Claims presented by the United States against Great Britain amounted to $1,000,000, on which not one cent was allowed.

Before another Commission Spain presented claims amounting to $30,313,581.32, and the amount awarded was $1,293,450.55, about 4 per cent. To a Joint Commission to

settle claims between France and the United States, France presented claims amounting to $17,368,151.27, and received an allowance of $625,566.35, the percentage of allowance being thirty-six-hundredths of one per cent. The United States presented claims against France amounting to $2,747,544.99, and the amount allowed was $13,659.14, an allowance of about fifty-six-thousandths of one per cent. Taking all the commissions together, the total amount presented was over $719,000,000, and the total allowance was less than $8,500,000.

Had it not been for arbitration it is probable that these great countries would have gone to war to collect the preposterous claims of their citizens, and well did Mr. MacVeagh say, "You sow military force against a weak and defenceless state and you reap injustice." With these figures before us, does it not become us to move slowly and be sure of our ground in international controversy? The fable of the wolf and the

lamb is not without its application to such cases.

The opponents of the Peace Treaty have laid especial emphasis on the necessity of preserving the Monroe Doctrine. It is interesting in this connection to observe that San Salvador, in order to decide what she is doing if she becomes a party to the League of Nations, asks us to define the Monroe Doctrine. It is a simple and natural request, but what is the answer? In its original form, to quote President Monroe's message in 1823, but leaving out unnecessary words, it was that "the American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power"; that "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety"; and that "we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner

their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." This declaration at the time was intended to prevent the Holy Alliance from interfering in South America to overthrow the recently established South American Republics, and it was, if not suggested by George Canning, certainly made with his approval. It was not intended to question in any way the rights of Great Britain in this hemisphere.

Daniel Webster in his speech defending it put the Monroe Doctrine on the true ground, the right of self-defence, and his successor, Mr. Root, described it "as a declaration based on the right of the people of the United States to protect itself as a nation and which could not be transformed into a declaration, joint or common, to all the nations of America, or even to a limited number of them." We recognized that the establishment of monarchies in this hemi-

sphere supported by European powers meant eventual attack upon us, for it was the policy of the Holy Alliance to destroy democracy. It was, in a word, erecting a shield against European aggression.

No one for a moment suggested that it was designed to protect our own aggression on our weaker American neighbors. It has been woefully distorted from its original purpose in recent years, until our practice justifies the suggestion of President Lowell that it is set up as a fence against foreign interference with us in our dealings with other countries in this hemisphere. It is a shield against Europe, but a sword against America, and in practice we stand toward Mexico and the countries south of us as Prussia stood in Europe.

Let me quote high authority for this statement. Professor Borchard, an expert on international law, a professor in the Yale Law School, at one time Assistant Solicitor of the State Department, and who has filled

other public positions of importance, made this statement at a National Conference on the Foreign Relations of the United States:

We must frankly recognize that the rights of small states and of government by consent of the governed, of which we have recently heard so much, have never been a consideration or factor in our Caribbean policy, nor has the social regeneration of a backward people, who constitute the bulk of the population, yet had any tangible manifestations.

. . . . . .

Many of these products, particularly sugar, bananas, and oil, or enterprises like railroads, can be profitably exploited only by vast corporations, who control by concession or otherwise large areas of land, transportation systems, both rail and water, and an immense supply of cheap labor. Such commercial control of the sole or principal natural resources of a weak country leads easily to political control of the functions of government, which the United States has not been slow to recognize. It is only a short step from private investment in a railroad or in a large concession for the exploitation of a weak country's important resources to the exercise of a sphere of influence by the home government of the investor; and the sphere of influence easily merges into political control. . . . The danger of a foreign investment becoming political and

bringing about international complications has led the United States, in certain countries where our interests would be seriously affected, to seek to control the amount of debt those countries may contract and the character of concessions they may grant to foreigners. . . .

It is not generally known that many foreign concessions in Central America or the Caribbean are first submitted unofficially to the State Department to avoid subsequent interference on the ground of infringement of our political prerogatives, or—in our character of trustees for our weaker neighbors—because they take unfair advantage of an exploited country. . . .

Our interposition in the matter has in each case been occasioned by some special circumstance or opportunity which required prompt action and which was then extended to include the larger aims which have remained fundamental principles of our Caribbean policy. The maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine was only an incidental motive of our intervention in Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, and Haiti. Common prudence and the promotion of our own interests and those of our weaker neighbors would have prompted the same course. . . .

In closing, it should be frankly admitted that the policy on which we have so successfully embarked is economic imperialism. We must be prepared, in supporting it, to encounter the dangers and risks involved.

There is a certain naive impudence in speaking of us as "trustees for our weaker neighbors." Heaven save us all from such trustees! We may well fear that the United States will follow too closely the rules laid down by a distinguished trustee in Boston who said that there were three things which a trustee should never lose sight of—first, the safety of the trustee; second, the convenience of the trustee; and third, the compensation of the trustee.

I need only allude to our interference against the United States of Colombia when the President sent our troops and ships to support the new Republic of Panama, to the fact that the Government of Nicaragua is upheld by our bayonets, that we have overthrown the Republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo and govern both by military officers, to indicate how very practically our policy is carried out, and to show how well within the fact is Professor Borchard's statement.

As to our course in Nicaragua, let me quote the words of a Republican Senator:

Our brutally taking possession of Nicaragua, actually carrying on war, killing hundreds of her people, taking possession of her capital and forcing through a treaty greatly to our advantage and still holding the capital under the control of our marines while doing so is one of the most shameless things in the history of our country. When this matter began four or five years ago under President Taft, I did the best I could to stop it. When this administration came into power, after first renouncing all dollar diplomacy it shortly thereafter sent in practically the same treaty, indeed in substance the very same treaty. But we went into Nicaragua without any justification and without authority upon the part of Congress and carried on war in Nicaragua as thoroughly and effectively as we carried on a war in Mexico in 1848 and even with less conscience behind it.

The Senate of the United States is very much exercised lest the Peace Treaty should weaken the power of Congress to declare war, and is afraid that under its provisions the President might send Americans to Hedjaz without any action by Congress. One cannot but wonder that men so solicitous to

maintain the Constitution should have allowed to pass unchallenged the attack on Vera Cruz, the intervention in Nicaragua, the attacks on Haiti and Santo Domingo, all without authority from Congress. Every one of these acts was an exercise of power by the President in violation of the Constitution. Our whole dealing with Mexico and the Central American States is an entire departure from the rules which we ourselves proclaim, and the facts are concealed from the American people. No newspaper tells us what has been or is going on in Haiti or Nicaragua, and we hug the comfortable delusion that the great principles of our Government are respected by our statesmen. President Wilson has said:

> No nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.
>
> We shall fight for the things which we have

always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience.

Mr. Root's words are:

> We consider that the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest members of the family of nations deserve as much respect as those of the great empires. We pretend to no right, privilege, or power that we do not freely concede to each one of the American republics.

As Mr. Lowell said of England:

> "Ole Uncle S. sez he, 'I guess,
> John preaches wal,' sez he."

Contrast these statements of our policy with Professor Borchard's statement of our practice, and you will not wonder that San Salvador asks to have the Monroe Doctrine defined.

This is a situation which demands the attention of every conscientious American. We must hold our country up to its own

principles and must for our own sake resist the attempt of commercial interests to make our Government their tool in their attempts to exploit our neighbors. Every step that we take in such work may make millions for a few men, but it makes suspicion, hatred, and loss for our country. There is no escape from retribution, which may come soon or late, but will come. We shall do well to remember the words of Lowell, "Moral supremacy is the only one which leaves monuments and not ruins behind it."

In the same way our dealings with China and Japan are insolent. At the behest of so-called Labor, a name which is fast losing its meaning, we exclude their citizens from our country, and those that we cannot exclude we treat with contempt. Yet we should hotly resent it were Americans so treated in Japan. The newspapers talk of the "next war" in the Pacific and of the "yellow peril." We cultivate enmity, not friendship, and to what end?

A year ago the United States was the great power to which the world looked for help and guidance. The peoples of Europe were our warm friends. Our young men had fought side by side with youths from almost every country save those which were allied against us; they had mingled their blood with French, English, Italian blood and many another stream, and we all rejoiced in the victory which all had helped to win.

Now we are selfishly withdrawing from doing our share in defending the fruits of that victory, and in the reconstruction and regeneration of the world. From man to man fly criticisms and suspicions of all who fought with us, extravagant claims of our own share in the success and sneers at the claims of others. We are jealous of other nations, and jealous even of each other. It may be an inevitable reaction from the unselfish sacrifices which the war entailed, but it should cease. We should all discourage criticism and complaint. We should praise

our allies and they in turn will praise us. Should we now become involved in war, where should we turn for friends? Name any nation you please, and then ask yourselves how we are treating that nation, and whether we can fairly count on its friendship?

"He who has a thousand friends has not a friend to spare,
And he who has one enemy will meet him everywhere."

Entangling alliances may be bad, but entangling hostilities are far worse.

A black poet from Jamaica has written some lines which we may do well to remember when we would misuse our power:

"God gave you power to build and help, lift,
But you proved prone to persecute and slay,
And from the high and noble course to drift
Into the darkness from the light of day.
He gave you law and order, strength of will
The lesser peoples of the world to lead;
You chose to break and crush them through life's mill
And for your earthly gains to make them bleed;

Because you have proved unworthy of your trust
God—He shall humble you into the dust."

Even the British Empire, the mistress of the seas, with her wide "dominion over palm and pine," realized five years ago, when her vast merchant marine was melting under the attacks of submarines, when Ludendorff had broken her lines and the fate of civilization hung in the balance, how near she was to finding that Kipling wrote truly:

"Far-call'd our navies melt away,
On dune and headland sinks the fire,
So all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre."

Let me beg you young men and the others like you, into whose hands must soon pass the ability in part to determine the future of our country, to remember that our great power is held in trust for the benefit of mankind, and that if we abuse it we shall surely suffer. There is no text which is truer than the stern words, "Be sure thy sins shall find thee out," and they apply as well to nations as to men.

And now, in concluding these lectures, let me quote to you the appeal of James Russell Lowell which cannot be repeated too often:

What we want is an active class who will insist in season and out of season that we shall have a country whose greatness is measured not only by its square miles, its number of yards woven, of hogs packed, of bushels of wheat raised, not only by its skill to feed and clothe the body, but also by its power to feed and clothe the soul; a country which shall be as great morally as it is materially; a country whose very name shall not only, as now it does, stir us as with the sound of a trumpet, but shall call out all that is best within us by offering us the radiant image of something better, nobler, more enduring than we, of something that shall fulfil our own thwarted aspirations, when we are but a handful of forgotten dust in the soil trodden by a race, whom we shall have helped to make more worthy of their inheritance, than we ourselves had the power, I might almost say the means to be.

THE END